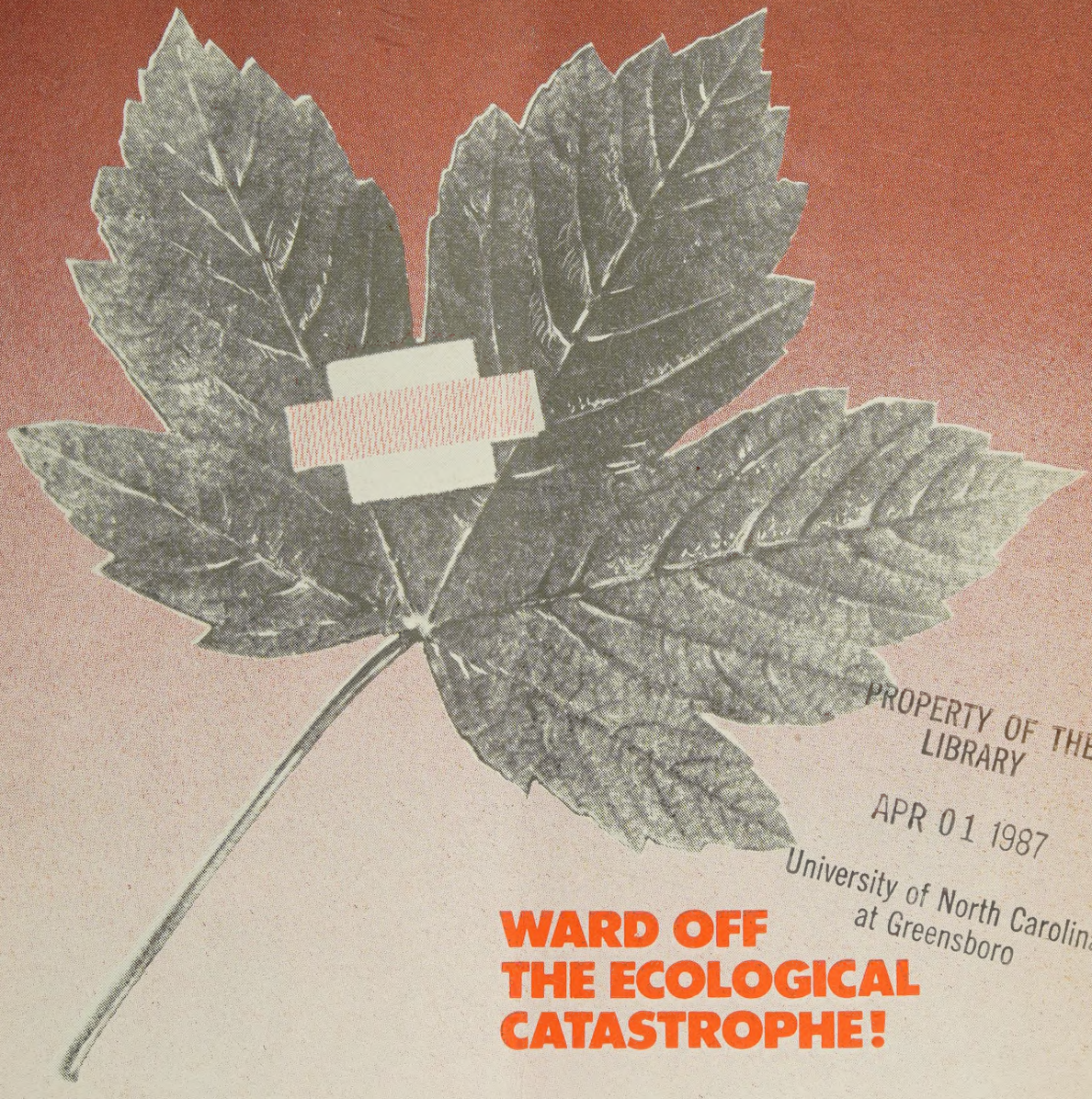
A SOVIET WEEKLY OF WORLD AFFAIRS

Excerpts from the play
"THE BREST PEACE"
by Mikhail SHATROV

NEW TIMES



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WARD OFF THE ECOLOGICAL CATASTROPHE!

Towards the 70th Anniversary of the October Revolution

ADDRESS OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE TO THE SOVIET PEOPLE

1917–1987

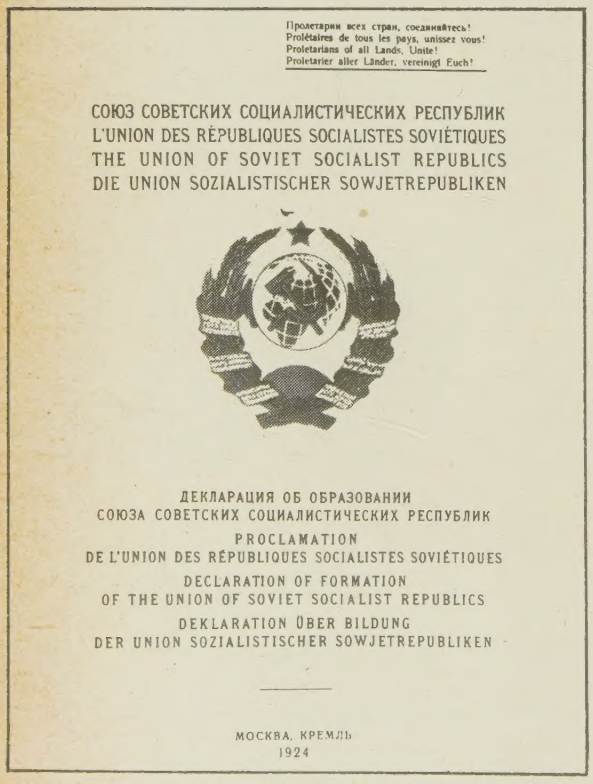
TIME AND PEOPLE

The Soviet Union as a voluntary association of many nations in a single state was born five years after the October Revolution.

In the very first days after the revolution the Soviet government proclaimed the equality, sovereignty and right to self-determination of all peoples, and not only in words. Finland and Poland seceded. Independent republics sprang up in the Baltic, the Ukraine and other parts of the former Russian empire.

The next step was taken by the Tenth Congress of the Bolshevik Party in 1921, which set the aim of overcoming the differences in levels of development of the various nations. The Russian Federation, the biggest and most developed Soviet republic, despite the economic dislocation, rendered assistance to other peoples in the form

The first Soviet tractor in Uzbekistan.



Пролетарии всех стран, соединяйтесь!
Prolétaires de tous les pays, unissez vous!
Proletarians of all Lands, Unite!
Proletarier aller Länder, vereinigt Euch!

СОЮЗ СОВЕТСКИХ СОЦИАЛИСТИЧЕСКИХ РЕСПУБЛИК
L'UNION DES RÉPUBLIQUES SOCIALISTES SOVIÉTIQUES
THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS
DIE UNION SOZIALISTISCHER SOWJETREPUBLIKEN

ДЕКЛАРАЦИЯ ОБ ОБРАЗОВАНИИ
СОЮЗА СОВЕТСКИХ СОЦИАЛИСТИЧЕСКИХ РЕСПУБЛИК
PROCLAMATION
DE L'UNION DES RÉPUBLIQUES SOCIALISTES SOVIÉTIQUES
DECLARATION OF FORMATION
OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS
DEKLARATION ÜBER BILDUNG
DER UNION SOZIALISTISCHER SOWJETREPUBLIKEN

МОСКВА, КРЕМЛЬ
1924

of subsidies, financed the industry of the non-Russian outlying areas, sent specialists, teachers and doctors to these parts, and extended a helping hand in critical situations. When the Ukraine was hit by a fuel crisis in 1919, kerosene and fuel oil were shipped there from the centre of Russia. It was only with Moscow's assistance that the government of Byelorussia was able to restore the transport services wrecked by the interventionists. The Russian Federation undertook to finance the entire school network in Turkestan, and 260 schools were opened within a short space of time.

The need for close cooperation was brought home to the different peoples by their own experience. The first proposal to form a single state was put forward by the Ukraine; it was supported by the other republics. A special commission consisting of representatives of the different nations declared for the establishment of a union of sovereign republics.

On December 30, 1922, this decision was unanimously endorsed by the First Congress of Soviets of the U.S.S.R.

Mikhail Kalinin,
Chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R.

A SOVIET WEEKLY
OF WORLD AFFAIRS

NEW TIMES

12 March 30, 1987 Founded 1943

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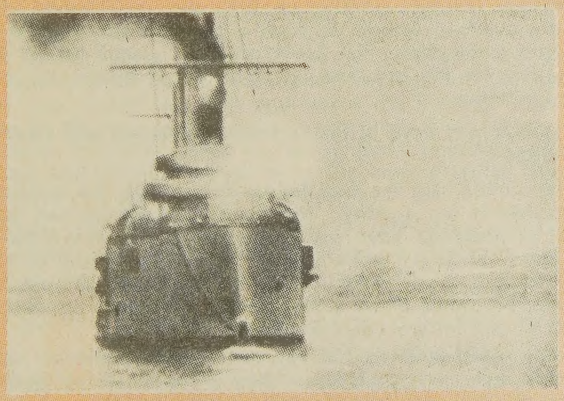

2 The shot from the Aurora

THE REVOLUTION CONTINUES

The Soviet people will soon be celebrating the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution. Yet the revolution continues as, in effect, the country and the people have entered a new chapter of society's revolutionary remaking.

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Address of the CPSU Central Committee to the Soviet People

Dear comrades,

The 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution is approaching. It is a great holiday for the Soviet people.

Our revolution, the most important event of the century, ushered in a new era in human history. Experience has convincingly borne out its everlasting importance and shown that socialism opens up vast opportunities in every field.

The October revolution is something the Soviet people hold especially dear in their minds and in their hearts. It was an unparalleled upsurge in the history-making endeavour of the masses and the triumph of the people who had thrown off the fetters of capitalist and landlord exploitation.

At the head of the Bolshevik Party, which roused the working class and all working people of Russia to revolution, stood Lenin. His teaching and moral example and the results of his titanic work will live forever.

We are promoting the cause of the October revolution by our efforts. A drive for reform, an essentially revolutionary change is gaining ground throughout the country. Its aim is to speed up progress of socialist society. This is the objective of the Party's policy, a policy expressing the will of the people, adopted at the April plenum of the Central Committee and the 27th Congress of the CPSU.

Some fundamental decisions were taken at the January plenum of the Central Committee. They have equipped the Party and the people with a strategy of reconstruction and oriented them to more radical reforms and bold measures designed to impart to socialism the most advanced forms of social organization.

Our country was the first to make socialism a reality. The October revolution brought with it hitherto unknown principles of the social organization of people: government of the working people in the political sphere, public ownership of the means of production in the economic sphere, and collectivism and comradely mutual assistance in human relationships. These revolutionary transformations are the primary and inexhaustible source of the vitality of the socialist system.

The October revolution and socialism rid our country of the ills and hardships which still blight the life of people in many countries. We have no exploitation of man by man. We have no unemployment. We have no national oppression. We have no poverty and illiteracy. The working people in our country have guaranteed social security and confidence in the future.

This is what the October revolution was carried out for and this is what socialism exists for.

As it built socialism, our country grew into a mighty industrial power with a vast economic, scientific and technological potential. It has attained one of the world's highest levels in the education of the masses and has ensured them a prosperous life. Free medical aid, child and maternity care, concern for war veterans, retired workers and old people have become something Soviet people take for granted. Thousands of families move to new flats every day.

Tremendous changes have taken place in the country in the cultural field. Socialism appears before the world as a system capable of offering a humane alternative to the cruelty, violence and moral degradation of capitalist society, a system preserving and multiplying the genuine values of civilization and, by virtue of this ability and orientation, rejecting culture based on commercialism and profit.

We are now working to raise the Soviet economy to the world's highest level of efficiency and scientific and technological progress. Thus we shall be able considerably to expand the base for further improving the people's welfare, providing conditions for the harmonious development of all members of society and satisfying the material and cultural needs of the people.

The road to this has been opened by the October revolution and socialism.

The victory of the socialist revolution ensured genuine rights and freedoms for the working people and established the power of Soviets, a democratic form of government evolved by the people themselves. The Soviet political system has all the prerequisites for the broadest promotion of democracy and people's initiative.

This system was born of the October revolution and created by socialism.

The revolution laid the foundations for solving the nationalities problem in our country. The equality of nations and their fraternal cooperation have come into being and consolidated in the years of Soviet government. The economy and culture have flourished in all republics. A united Soviet people has taken shape—proud of its achievements and ready to defend socialist gains from any encroachment.

Like any practical deed, the improvement of national relations poses ever new problems. They are and will be tackled in line with the Leninist nationalities policy, responsive to everything that affects national interests and uncompromising in regard to any manifestation of nationalism and chauvinism.

Our country is advancing and will advance for the benefit of every nation and nationality, in the interests of bringing

them closer together, in the interests of our unbreakable union. The peoples of the U.S.S.R. are bound together by strong friendship, socialist internationalism and Soviet patriotism.

We owe this to the October revolution and socialism.

We are living in a world profoundly changed under the impact of our revolution. Over a third of mankind has already cast off the yoke of capitalist exploitation. Socialism exists, develops and grows stronger as a world system. There are no colonial empires any longer; dozens of young sovereign states have emerged in their place.

The international working class has gained in strength. Its interests are expressed by Marxist-Leninist Communist and Workers' parties. Mass democratic, anti-imperialist and anti-war movements are spreading wider. The general crisis of capitalism is deepening.

The present socio-political situation in the world is a natural result of the historical process started by the October revolution.

Lenin directed our first steps in the building of socialism. He is with us today, too, for the current reforms are steadily consolidating the revolutionary Leninist spirit in the life of the Party and the country.

All who devoted their lives to the great cause of socialism are also with us today. The revolutionaries, Lenin's comrades-in-arms who started heroic Bolshevik traditions and remained loyal to communist ideals despite all the adversities and trials, will forever be remembered by the grateful Soviet people.

The memory of those who took part in the three Russian revolutions, who overthrew the landlord-capitalist rule in October 1917, will live forever.

Sacred is the memory of civil war heroes, of all who defended the Soviet republic from imperialist invaders and the White Guard. Our people will never forget internationalist fighters abroad who advanced the slogan "Hands off Soviet Russia!" and those who rose in arms to protect the gains of the October revolution.

We shall always admire the achievements of the people who carried out the first five-year plans, built a powerful industry, collective agriculture and socialist culture.

The feat performed by Soviet people, soldiers and workers, in the Great Patriotic War is immortal. We revere the memory of those who fell in action for the honour and freedom of our socialist Motherland, who gave their lives to save the world from the fascist plague. With respect and gratitude, we remember our allies in that war of liberation: the soldiers, patriots and anti-fascists of other countries.

The Motherland will always take pride in the labour achievements and willpower of Soviet people who restored the war-ravaged towns and villages, the country as a whole, and made it more powerful than before.

Comrades,

We experienced all the hardships and trials awaiting trail-blazers of history. But they did not stop us. We learned to overcome, and did overcome them.

The building of socialism began in a situation of economic chaos and ruin caused by the war. For almost three decades the U.S.S.R. alone confronted world capitalism and was continuously subjected to imperialist pressure and blackmail. In the war against the nazi aggression the U.S.S.R. lost 20 million of its sons and daughters and one third of its national wealth. For many years we had to exert ourselves to the extreme and deny ourselves even the most essential things. But we held out, were not bowed or broken.

There was also something else. A high price was paid for deviations from the Leninist principles and methods of building a new society, for violations of socialist law and democratic norms of life in the Party and society, for voluntarist mistakes, for dogmatism in thinking and inertia in practical actions.

In the late 1970s and early 1980s stagnation tendencies emerged, and difficulties, unresolved problems and phenomena alien to socialism began to accumulate in our society. The Party and all Soviet people felt that keenly, took it to heart. The Central Committee urged the people to show revolutionary determination in transforming all their life.

The working people approved the line taken by the April plenum as their vital cause. The strict self-criticism now being revived in the Party, the sincerity in politics, the ability to map out measures necessary for remedying the present situation and to start implementing them without delay—all this found broad support of the people.

The 27th Congress of the CPSU made a deep, Leninist analysis of the present situation. In its decisions the congress not only set ambitious goals but also indicated realistic ways to achieve them. It was a lesson of truth which is of timeless political and ethic value. The uncompromising and open assessment of everything that hampers our progress testifies to the principled, Leninist stand of the Party, and to its strength.

Lenin once said that when new practical tasks arose before us, new forces sprang up to deal with them, seemingly out of the ground, forces whose existence no one had suspected shortly before the turning point. The same can be observed today—new forces which did not manifest themselves yesterday are springing up in the Party and the people, and joining the revolutionary cause of transformation.

The country has stirrred into motion and got its second wind.

The moral climate of society is becoming healthier, and cultural and intellectual life—more interesting and varied. Openness and truthfulness, criticism and exactingness are becoming established as part and parcel of everyday life.

The strategy and tactics of a thoroughgoing reconstruction of the national economy are being steadily put into effect. The management of the key sectors of the economy is being reorganized. The new economic machinery is being levered into action. A growing number of work collectives apply themselves to stepping up their productivity and economic efficiency. Production units are being retooled. Measures are being taken for a radical improvement of output quality. In the first year of the current five-year plan the national economy has surpassed the plan targets in major areas.

But we must not rest on our laurels. It is only the first steps that have been made, and most of the work is yet to be done.

Is there a guarantee that things will work out well, that the process of change will not come to a halt and that the past mistakes will not be repeated?

Yes, there is. Reform is in the interests of the people, it is in the vital interests of the working class—the motive force of Soviet society. The reform process is directed by the Party which is proving in deed its ability to work with revolutionary persistence for the accomplishment of the new tasks and is prepared and able to update the forms and methods of its own work.

Common aspirations of, and joint action by, the Party and the people welded together by the experience of what they have gone through and by a sense of responsibility for the nation's present and future are the guarantee that the course mapped out by the 27th Congress will be followed undeviatingly. The all-round promotion of the democratic principles underlying the socialist system is the guarantee that the strategic objective of imparting a new quality to our society will be attained.

More democracy means more socialism.

Everything must and will be done to enable the working people to exercise, in actual fact, their decisive influence on the formation and functioning of government and social institutions, on the activity and life of work collectives in an atmosphere of complete openness, with all officials working under public control, being accountable to, and elected by, the people. No further progress can be made without discarding the practices of administration by mere injunction, unnecessary reglementation and proscriptions, and without pulling down the wall of bureaucratic distrust in the intelligence and experience of the people, in their ability to work as thrifty masters of their country should.

Socialist democracy means broadening and deepening self-government by the people, free competition of minds and talents. True democracy is constructive by its very nature. It is intolerant of irresponsibility, demagogy and permissiveness.

The Party is consistently enforcing the principle that not a single organization or individual worker should be beyond control and criticism. More and more individuals who keep abreast of the times and are ready to account for their actions

to the people are being promoted to positions of responsibility.

By extending democracy, strengthening socialist legality, encouraging the Soviets of People's Deputies, trade unions, the Komsomol, and other public organizations to show greater activity, and by elevating the dignity of the individual and protecting the citizens' and work collectives' rights in every way we are giving full scope for the most powerful constructive force of socialism—the emancipated work of free men in a free country.

Comrades,

The Central Committee calls upon all Soviet people to imbue their minds with the awareness of their responsibility for the future image of our country and for the fate of socialism. The picture of what has been achieved in the decades of building up socialist society since the October revolution is majestic. But there is a new challenge of the times for us to meet. In the changed conditions, as was stated at the January plenum of the Central Committee, our society is being once more tested for dynamism, for its ability to make rapid progress.

Our economy is being tested for efficacy, for its ability to master the latest in technology, to put out top-quality products and to stand any competition on world markets. Our morality and the whole of our way of life are being tested for their ability to develop and enrich the values of socialist democracy, social justice and humanism, and our foreign policy—for firmness and consistence in safeguarding peace, for flexibility and restraint in a situation where the imperialist forces are spurring on the feverish arms race and building up international tension.

The whole world is watching whether the Soviet people and the homeland of the October revolution stand out and meet the challenge to socialism in a worthy manner.

The Central Committee appeals to the sense of honour and professional pride of the working masses and to the patriotism of the Soviet people. Today, we are working to fulfil the assignments of the twelfth five-year plan which is the key element of the acceleration programme. Over a short period we are to effect qualitative changes in the economy and to lay down a firm groundwork for further advance. This task is central to the drive for marking the 70th anniversary of the October revolution with new achievements. Whether this task is accomplished depends on how well every worker does his duty and on how conscientious the attitude to work in each collective is.

Trade unions have an important role to play here. The reforms now in progress demand that they become indefatigable organizers of the working masses in the struggle for high production efficiency and topnotch professionalism.

Our land has always been famed for craftsmen whose skilful work brought them world renown. Examples of our workers, scientists, engineers and designers surpassing the world's achievements abound in the history of the Soviet Union, and today we are better equipped for that than ever before.

The Central Committee appeals to the intelligence and experience of the Soviet people. There are no ready solutions to all problems. Let the current reforms be a creative laboratory for the whole nation. Let us carefully and critically evaluate the record of modernization, treasure every innovation, introduce it on a wide scale and improve on it. Creative and uninhibited thinking is essential to acceleration.

The party is permanently learning from the people. It absorbs their collective wisdom, checks its policy against the experience of the masses and deems it its duty to give a true expression to the people's attitudes.

The Central Committee appeals to the courage of the Soviet people. Breaking down and abandoning the obsolete forms, methods and habits is not easy. It is imperative to fight for reform and defend it against retrogrades. This takes fortitude, firmness and dedication to principle, as well as character and selflessness.

On many occasions the bravery and fortitude of the Soviet people tipped the scales of history in their favour. The Party is positive that this is going to be the case now as well.

The Central Committee appeals to the civic feelings of the Soviet people. This is a challenging and interesting period in the country's history which calls upon each citizen to do his utmost. The work we have started cannot be accomplished with half a heart. The very nature of that work is incompatible with timeserving, indifference and consumerism. Reform needs real enthusiasts intolerant of mismanagement and sloth. It needs political fighters boundlessly loyal to the communist ideals and capable of defending and augmenting our great social, moral and cultural values.

The Party and the people are reposing great hopes in the young generation with its energy, yearning for changes and its active negation of wrong. Young people must be given a chance to show what they can do without tutelage. The present time offers extensive scope for the activity of Komsomol which must be militant, businesslike, free of formalism and red tape, and a true leader of all young people.

The Central Committee calls on all members of the CPSU to confirm, from day to day, that they are conscious of and share the great political responsibility borne in this crucial period by the CPSU as the ruling party of the country. Communists must bear it in mind that by their actions and behaviour the people judge the Party. It is Communists above all who are expected to display selflessness, courage and innovation. It is a Communist's duty to be always loyal to the dictates of his Party conscience. It is their personal initiative that the progress of social renovation will largely depend on.

The Central Committee calls on all Soviet people to fully realize that our daily work and each step we take to accelerate the country's socio-economic progress carry an ever greater weight in world politics.

The 70th anniversary of the October revolution comes at a time when the human race faces the problem of survival. The future of this divided but indivisible world of ours is being decided now. The planet can and must be spared the threat of nuclear war. A life of security, independence and progress can and must be ensured for all nations, but that does not depend solely on the Soviet Union and the world of socialism as a whole. The U.S.S.R. and the entire socialist community will go their part of the way to make this a reality.

Our Party and state pursue a consistent line of peace in world politics. Our approach to international issues is realistic, flexible and guided by new political thinking. We shall make an unrelenting effort so that by the beginning of the third millennium all states should throw off their nuclear armour, so that weapons are not allowed into space, are reduced and, in the end, eliminated.

But while international reactionary forces continue to spur on the arms race, while they have not abandoned the policy of social revenge and anti-socialist crusades, the CPSU and the Soviet state will do everything necessary to maintain the defence capacity of our country and the socialist community at a proper level. The Soviet people can rest assured that we shall never, under any circumstances, allow imperialists to gain military superiority over us.

We are using our country's full political authority and international influence in the struggle for peace. And they will be all the more effective, the better we do at home and the deeper our cooperation with the fraternal socialist states. Socialism and peace are inseparable. The more powerful socialism is, the stronger is peace.

Dear comrades,

Our entire society is on one side of the barricades. The Party and the people have a common aim. The working class, the collective farmers and the intellectuals have common interests. The older generations, veterans of socialist construction and their young replacement are working for a common cause. All the nations, ethnic groups, republics, and the Soviet Union as a whole share a common destiny.

The ideals of October urge all of us to work for the good of the Soviet people, for the prosperity of our Homeland, for socialism and peace. So let us apply our joint reason, determination and energy—an insurmountable force—to meeting the new challenges facing us. Let us attain all the goals set. Let us worthily promote the revolutionary cause of October!

CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

(Pravda, March 14, 1987)

SPAIN—U.S.S.R.

Mission a Success

● A SOVIET PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION PAID A VISIT TO SPAIN IN MARCH.

It had talks with the country's head of state, Prime Minister, MPs and prominent political and public figures.

How are the results of the visit seen in Spain? We asked ANDRES ORTEGA, correspondent for the influential Spanish liberal newspaper El Pais, to comment.

A perilous step. Drawing by I. Smirnov

The arrival in Madrid of a Soviet parliamentary delegation led by Alexander Yakovlev coincided with a highlight in Spanish history. Ten years have passed since the country's first democratic elections and the establishment of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. The democratic changes that have taken place in Spain have affected its foreign, to say nothing of its domestic, policies. Spain now pays more attention to international developments and advocates an end to the arms race, and nuclear arms control. Like many other countries, Spain is sympathetic to the changes being implemented in the U.S.S.R. by the Soviet leadership headed by Mikhail Gorbachev.

The government of Felipe Gonzalez has shown keen interest in disarmament and arms control.

The Spanish leadership has always advocated "zero option" in the question of Euromissiles. The Soviet proposal to conclude a separate agreement on this score has therefore been received here with approval. In the opinion of the Spanish leadership, an agreement on Euromissiles will contribute towards the resumption of East-West dialogue. Inasmuch as Spain is without doubt part of the West, it is considered that the Soviet SS-20 missiles targeted on Europe threaten its security too, and their abolition will therefore be auspicious for our country.

Spain also has a stake in the conclusion of an agreement on conventional weapons now being discussed by 16 NATO countries and seven Warsaw Treaty states at the preliminary talks in Vienna. In this connection Spain, like France, insists that the issue be considered within the context of the 35-nation Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

At the same time the interest shown in the Soviet delegation's visit is linked with the changes that have been in progress in the Soviet Union over the last two years. To this day the Soviet Union is for Spain "a secret behind seven seals," and the Spanish public is following developments in your country with interest. It welcomes the new Soviet leadership's policies and, despite the difficulties without which renewal is unthinkable, supports them, being convinced that a healthier Soviet economy will contribute to détente.

Spaniards were pleasantly surprised that Alexander Yakovlev spoke so frankly and straightforwardly about everything taking place in the world today. They qualified this as a further manifestation of the changes in Soviet politics.

Madrid

NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT

Latin America on the Agenda

● "PEACE, SOLIDARITY AND DEVELOPMENT" WAS THE MOTTO OF THE SPECIAL SESSION OF THE NON-ALIGNED NATIONS' COORDINATING BUREAU HELD IN GEORGETOWN, GUYANA, IN MARCH.

The session discussed problems facing the Latin American and Caribbean states. From March 10 to 12 the flags of more than 60 non-aligned nations fluttered outside the Pegasus Hotel, where the foreign ministers were meeting. It is no fortuity that they were attracted to this region inasmuch as the basic issues of concern to developing and non-aligned states came clearly into focus in this part of the world. These are imperialist interference in the affairs of sovereign states, and the Third World countries' stupendous external debt—of which the Latin American and Caribbean states account for $400 billion, or 40 per cent of the total.

As Guyana's President Hugh Desmond Hoyte emphasized, the historic task before the non-aligned movement is to firmly establish the principle of respect for all nations and non-violation of sovereignty, and their inalienable right to live in an atmosphere free of fear, intimidation and aggression.

The overwhelming majority of delegates resolutely supported the Latin American peoples in their struggle for freedom and independence. They voiced solidarity with Argentina and Panama, who were upholding their sovereignty over the Malvinas and the Panama Canal.

However, the extremely disturbing situation around Nicaragua was central to the discussions. There will be no peace in Latin America until the Central American crisis has been resolved. This can only be done provided no further external pressure is brought to bear on the Sandinist republic. This theme recurred constantly throughout the session. Representatives of many countries directly condemned Washington's aggression against the people of Nicaragua and its financing and arming of the contras.

The participants unanimously supported the Contadora process for a peaceful settlement of the conflict in Central America. Indian Minister of External Affairs Narayan Tiwari told me that he qualified this process as an expression of the mature desire of the Latin American countries to settle their problems independently, without outside interference. He particularly stressed that the Contadora countries and the Latin American Contadora support group had based their activities on the principles to which the non-aligned movement adhered.

One salient feature of the Georgetown session was the fact that many delegates called on the non-aligned movement to take concrete steps in defence of Nicaragua and other countries in the region in order to repulse the imperialist onslaught.

Another major issue was the external debt. Although the coordinating bureau members did not see eye to eye on the causes of, and whom to blame for, the prevailing situation, they achieved virtual consensus on the need to draft a common approach to this complex issue. More specifically, it was vital to hold talks at once within the North-South framework to establish a new international economic order based on justice and equality.

The forum also highlighted the basic issue of today, that of averting nuclear catastrophe. Witness Mangwende, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Zimbabwe, the country chairing the non-aligned movement, praised the Soviet Union for its more that 18-month-long unilateral nuclear-test moratorium and its preparedness to renew this moratorium should the U.S. follow suit. He noted that the Soviet proposal to abolish medium-range missiles in Europe had filled the non-aligned movement with fresh hope.

The Georgetown forum was a propitious beginning to the non-aligned movement's activity in support of the Latin American peoples, M. Nagamoto, a leading Guyanese journalist believes. It is important that all the ideas suggested be put into effect. However, this is no easy matter, as the great-power policy pursued by the U.S., which has since the time of the Monroe Doctrine regarded Latin America as its backyard, constitutes the main obstacle to peace, security and progress for the nations of the Western Hemisphere.

Nonetheless it can be hoped that the decisions taken by the coordinating bureau of the non-aligned nations, an influential factor in world politics, will impart fresh strength to the developing countries in their struggle. It can be hoped that these decisions will resemble the ocean breeze that brings a refreshing coolness to Georgetown in the heat waves.

MIKHAIL FOKIN,
TASS correspondent
for New Times
Georgetown, Guyana

ITALY

Another Crisis

● ANOTHER GOVERNMENT CRISIS BROKE OUT IN ROME.

As spring approached, Christian Democrats reminded Socialists with increasing persistence of the so-called "rotation." Bettino Craxi, a Socialist, was supposed to be succeeded automatically by a Christian Democrat as Prime Minister. An agreement to that effect had allegedly been reached while settling last year's crisis. The Socialists rejected the idea of such "automatic rotation" outright. All attempts to thrash out a compromise got nowhere.

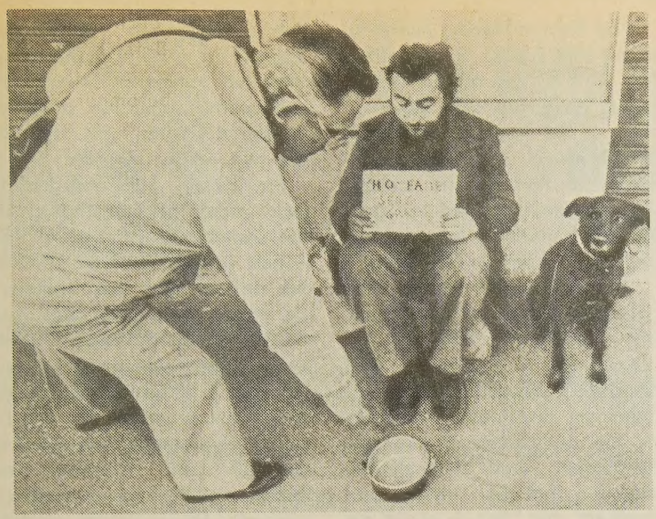
On March 3, Bettino Craxi officially tendered his resignation to the President, explaining the move by the growing political friction between the five parties that make up the cabinet—the Christian Democrats, Socialists, Republicans, Liberals and Social Democrats. So fell the 44th government of the Italian Republic—and the first in the postwar period to be headed by a Socialist.

Christian Democrat Giulio Andreotti, a prominent political leader, was instructed to form a new cabinet.

Doing so is no easy matter. The skirmishes between Socialists and Christian Democrats have recently intensified. Even the candidature for the premiership remains disputable.

All these differences, big and small, are merely outward manifestations of the struggle for the redistribution of power and political influence. Christian Democrats seek to restore the kind of multiparty democracy under which one party rules the roost. By securing the premiership it will gain considerable room for manoeuvre at the parliamentary elections due in a year's time. The Socialists cannot fail to realize this.

How long the crisis will last is anybody's guess. It may well lead to pre-term elections, to which the Italian Communist Party objects. It is of the opinion that the five-party coalition has outlived itself and cannot be restored. The Communist Party is calling on the other parties to face present-day realities and draw up a clear-cut programme of action which would improve the position of Italy's millions. This demand is shared by the trade unions.



From jobless to beggar. Will the country's new cabinet give him a thought!

TASS photo

"Pre-term elections are still almost a year off," Antonio Pizzinato, General Secretary of the General Union of Italian Workers, told me. "The intervening period should be spent not on political bickering but on vigorous economic action, particularly in the south, where the situation is acute, with over 20 per cent of the able-bodied population out of work in some regions.

"We insist," Pizzinato went on, "that the overdue pension reform be carried out at last, and that other problems be resolved following an agreement the trade union centres have reached with the government. Each new day of the crisis, let alone the prospect of pre-term elections, only goes to aggravate the situation further.

"What worries us," Antonio Pizzinato concluded, "is that in the course of the current political discussions, mutual recriminations and accusations, the parties of the former coalition have virtually forgotten all about the interests of the working people. This is why we regard the present crisis as a manifestation of the power struggle."

It would hardly be objective to say that the situation in the country has not changed for the better over Bettino Craxi's three-odd years in office. Favourable external factors apart, his government has succeeded in beating the inflation rate down from 16 to 4 per cent. The growth of the state budget deficit was slowed down, while at the same time export grew. At present the country exports almost half of what it produces. Labour productivity has increased. However, unemployment has risen sharply. The number of those whose real incomes place them below the official poverty line has increased and the situation in the south of Italy has become still more of a problem.

Such is the seamy side of the "period of Italy's maximum political stability and economic prosperity" of which the foreign press writes so much. It was no fortuity that the Craxi cabinet found itself in a tricky position almost every time it submitted its economic and other bills to parliament (according to the newspaper Repubblica, there were 200 such occasions, or one for each week of Craxi's time in office). The government used pressure by putting parliament's confidence in it to the vote in order to push the bills through.

As for the former cabinet's foreign policy, it was as fickle as the Roman weather is at the moment. Despite its constructive approach to a number of international issues, the Craxi government got the country involved in the U.S. "star wars" project.

PAVEL NEGOITSA

Rome

KOREAN PENINSULA

Prompt Decisions Needed

● ON THE MORNING OF MARCH 12, AN ALIEN AIRCRAFT ENCROACHED ON THE AIRSPACE OF THE DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA.

Specialists identified the aircraft as an American SR-71 reconnaissance plane. The current encroachment is the sixth such provocation this month alone. Washington's policy vis-à-vis Korea is one of constantly inflaming tension, as is further evidenced by Team Spirit-87, the large-scale war games being held in South Korea. In addition to troops airlifted from the U.S. proper and U.S. Pacific bases, the main forces are now arriving. The provocative joint U.S.-South Korean war games are aimed at perfecting versions of a potential attack on North Korea.

The current militaristic enterprise in the south of the peninsula is in sharp contrast to the vigorous peace offensive that has been undertaken by North Korea. Only recently its leadership forwarded a third letter to Seoul, again proposing high-level military and political talks between North and South. These moves indicate Pyongyang's persistent desire to play down political confrontation and military tension and ensure an atmosphere of mutual confidence and trust. Indeed, unless solutions are found to urgent problems, it will be impossible to establish a better relationship between North and South and bring about the peaceful reunification of the country. Another Pyongyang initiative, which proposes that the peninsula be made a nuclear-free zone, is geared to the same noble objective.

The peaceful policy of the D.P.R.K. has rallied support in many capitals, but not in Washington or Seoul where the peninsula's "security" is interpreted as resting on the 40 U.S. bases in South Korea and the nuclear weapons stockpiled there. Construction of a new U.S. nuclear weapon depot outside Kongju is in full swing, and plans are being drafted to station Pershing 2 missiles.

World public is in a position to compare the two different approaches to the problems of the Korean peninsula and draw the appropriate conclusions. Sooner or later Washington and Seoul will have to heed the views and opinions of people really concerned to reduce tensions. As the 20th century draws to a close, prompt and sensible decisions are called for.

VLADIMIR ZHITOMIRSKY

AUSTRIA

Dragon's Lair?

● A HEATED DEBATE IS NOW GOING ON IN AUSTRIA OVER THE ACQUISITION OF SWEDISH DRAKEN (DRAGON) WARPLANES.

Several years ago Austria, which has no aircraft industry of its own, decided to purchase new interceptor aircraft abroad. What type to

choose was long under consideration. Attractive offers poured in from the U.S., Israel, France and other countries. Eventually, it was decided to buy Swedish Drakens. The price, too, was agreed upon—2.4 billlion schillings for 24 combat planes.

Already at that time there were protests against the acquisition of the interceptors. True, the opposition then was fragmented and produced no appreciable effect on public opinion. Now that the Drakens are about to be stationed at Austrian airfields, passions are running high.

Josef Krainer, head of the provincial government of Styria, where the planes were proposed to be stationed, declared that he would not allow the plan to be carried out. He was supported by all the political parties represented in the Styrian Landtag.

On his part, Chancellor Franz Vranitzky levelled sharp criticism at Krainer, emphasizing that defence was a national issue and that separate provinces cannot take diverging attitudes to it.

The discussion was joined by representatives of the business world and the military who maintain that to call off a properly concluded deal would be damaging not only to the country's defence capability but also to its prestige as a commercial partner. The Vienna Officers' Association went so far as to circulate a statement pressing on Krainer "either to adopt a constructive position or to resign."

The Styrian leader, however, does not intend to do either the one or the other. Moreover, the provincial organization of the Austrian People's Party which he heads has declared that if the combat aircraft are stationed in Styria it will mount a broad non-violent resistance campaign.

Anti-war organizations, the Green members of parliament, the Communist Party and the democratic women's and students' organizations are likewise resolutely opposed to the acquisition of the interceptors and emphatically demand that the funds earmarked for this purpose be channelled to the solution of the pressing problems facing the country. (For instance, unemployment has reached its highest level in 30 years). The argument advanced against the deal that the most effective means of safeguarding neutrality is the struggle to end the arms race is finding ever wider support.

President Kurt Waldheim, who under the Constitution is the commander-in-chief of the armed forces, has also joined the debate over the Drakens. He proposes to hold consultations with all the sides concerned with a view to arriving at a compromise. Time will show whether the President will succeed. So far the question of whether the Drakens will find a nesting place in Styria or in some other Austrian province remains open.

ANATOLY KOVRIGIN
our special correspondent
Vienna

Model Stability

Swedish Riksdag Speaker Ingemund Bengtsson is interviewed by New Times correspondent Alexander Polyukhov

Q. There have been allegations in the news media recently that Northern Europe's previously stable situation is deteriorating and that tensions have emerged.

A. For years Northern Europe has presented a model of stability. The countries there are energetically co-operating with one another not only at government and parliamentary levels, but also within the framework of the Nordic Council. A widely ramified system of collaboration has been built up.

Though the countries in the region definitely take different views on how to maintain security, these military and political differences, as the last 40 years have shown, interact in a way conducive to Northern Europe's stability. Consequently, we have been able to escape the adverse effect of the crises and tensions bedevilling other parts of the world.

Northern Europe and the North Atlantic are of increasing strategic significance—due to the emergence of new means of warfare and modified strategic concepts. Northern Europe and, more particularly, Sweden are now more vulnerable. Inasmuch as Sweden is not affiliated to any military alliance and remains consistently neutral, we must uphold our sovereignty in both wartime and peacetime. We believe that we in this way contribute to the maintenance of stability and security in Northern Europe.

Q. The idea of consolidating the nuclear-free status of Northern Europe is being vigorously discussed there. As a nuclear power, the Soviet Union has said it is prepared to take the appropriate steps. What in your view are the prospects for implementing this idea?

A. All the states of Northern Europe are ready to contribute. That is why they have refrained from acquiring nuclear weapons and are not allowing such weapons to be brought into their territories. A nuclear-free zone in this region would reinforce everyone's security. At their forthcoming meeting in Reykjavik the foreign ministers of Denmark, Iceland, Norway, Finland and Sweden plan to establish an intergovernmental committee to frame the complex legal aspects of a nuclear-free Northern Europe. As such a zone has a bearing on the interests of all countries in the region, establishing it should be a common concern based on complete consensus.

The establishment of a nuclear-free zone would be a move towards the deliverance of all of Europe from nuclear weapons. Conversely, progress in nuclear disarmament in Europe generally could substantially facilitate the consolidation of Northern Europe's nuclear-free status.

Q. Carrying your point further, we should see nuclear-free zones as a move towards a nuclear-free world. Do you believe this ultimate goal can be achieved?

A. I think that is for the time being a remote objective. However, for that very reason we should start at once to advance towards it. In this respect it behoves the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. in particular to show the way. They must agree on nuclear disarmament, thereby bringing the world much closer to the nuclear-free chapter in the history of civilization.

Q. How do you see the Soviet-Swedish relationship developing?

A. It is important for neutral Sweden to maintain good relations with all countries, especially its neighbours. There are no major problems in the relationship between our two states. The minor differences are of no significance in principle for consolidating our good-neighbourly relationship. I think we can look forward to further progress in relations between our two peoples.

IS A NUCLEAR-FREE WORLD POSSIBLE?
AND WHAT IN YOUR OPINION ARE THE PREREQUISITES FOR INTERNATIONAL STABILITY?

Jacques Poos:
EXPEDITE DISARMAMENT

Jacques Poos is Luxemburg's Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister.

As nuclear weapons appeared only 42 years ago we did once have a nuclear-free world, and not so long ago at that.

Yet the absence of nuclear weapons did not in any sense rule out wars of destruction. On the contrary, for as long as humanity has been menaced by nuclear war, Europe, for instance, has enjoyed an unprecedented period of peace.

Hence the question is not so much whether a nuclear-free world is likely or not as whether we really want to give up this instrument for averting armed conflict.

Many people, prominent figures among them, logically ask about the part the "balance of terror" plays. The mad arms race, which has been gaining increasing momentum over the past 40 years, and the ensuing atmosphere of mistrust have gravely subverted efforts to bring East and West closer together. Further, the stockpiling by the nuclear powers of armouries whose dimensions are not justified by strategic necessity, plus the appearance of new types of nuclear weapon, have resulted above all in the shaky balance of power reaching a level at which the risk in controlling these armouries becomes increasingly greater.

Hence I believe it most important to speed up and consolidate the disarmament process. Without question the major nuclear powers must cross the qualitative threshold as the simple ending of the arms race, however desirable, is no longer enough. Armouries must be reduced across the board through balanced agreements providing for appropriate verification.

It is clearly out of the question to consider nuclear weapons outside the context of global disarmament. The simple elimination of nuclear weapons would only entail instability deriving from the balance being upset in other fields, and would step up the race, for instance, in conventional and chemical weaponry.

The advantage of eliminating one type of weapon would be completely offset, as global security would be reduced and in these conditions the part played by other types of weapon would grow automatically.

Consequently, the disarmament process can produce favourable results only if nuclear weapons are cut within the context of agreements guaranteeing stability, and given the balanced and controlled reduction of armouries generally in Europe and throughout the world.

International stability cannot be reliably assured if confined merely to a military deterrent and to conditions in which there is no war. It must accord with a mentality capable of sustaining respect for human rights and basic liberties, generating an atmosphere conducive to economic advancement, and bringing about the irreversible process of effective disarmament.

One of man's main demands is to enjoy the basic means of livelihood and see prospects of tangible economic progress. The way to international stability must lie through the creation of a new global economic climate that would enable the developing countries to cope with the problems of deteriorating conditions of exchange, inadequacy of resources and mounting external debts.

Finally, genuine international stability is obviously out of the question without marked progress in the effort to avert war. The banishment of the various threats to peace, adherence to the principle of not using, or threatening to use force, the settlement of conflicts and the peaceful resolution of disputes and controversies, the taking of steps to establish trust and confidence, the reduction of armaments of every category to the lowest possible level in line with balanced verifiable agreements, and the use of space exclusively for peaceful purposes—these are some of the elements without which peace and, hence, international stability will not be assured. ■

Rolan Bykov:
WAITING FOR PEACEMAKERS OF GENIUS

Rolan Bykov is a Soviet actor and film director.

Is a nuclear-free world possible? Has anyone imagined in full what would probably ensue from the reverse? For myself I can say that I imagined the consequences when shooting "Dead Man's Letters." After all, the art of acting is above all that of assuming a person's identity; so I had to get under the skin of my character. I myself experienced "doomsday" and can therefore bear witness.

In one episode Professor Larsen, the character I act, writes to his son: "My dear boy, should anything happen to me or your mother, though this is unlikely, I want you to bury us by the mahogany cabinet with the Egyptian potsherds on the left-hand side at the entrance to the repositories." I suddenly realized what he meant. He was asking to be buried not by the river bank, or to have his remains returned to the birthplace of his ancestors, but, for some reason, by this cabinet. Why? For the simple reason that there was nowhere else. It was impossible to get out, which for me was a shocking discovery. It helped me realize a lot. I understood that this was a matter not only of physical annihilation. What was inescapable was the transformation of awareness, of mentality. I realized that an apocalyptical awareness, when the inborn instinct for self-preservation recedes, was possible THERE. Then you can have your own answer to Hamlet's question "to be or not to be." The nightmarish prophecy that the living

will envy the dead could really come true. It would all be so awful that not to live would be better than to live. This awareness could become overwhelming, as besides the innate instinct for self-preservation, there is also an innate instinct for self-destruction.

I do not want to frighten people. I think the time has come to explode this awareness before the bomb explodes on its own. There is a legend about Perseus, who slew the terrible Gorgon Medusa, which nobody could do, as to look at her once was to be turned immediately to stone. Perseus cut off her head by looking at her reflection in his polished shield. The reflection saved him. Today the catastrophe can be averted by resorting to its reflection in the intelligence, in art and science. Everyone must pause to think about that. Only a man who is fatally ill is afraid to talk of his illness. However, the response of some cinemagoers to our picture was for me odd, to say the least. "What for? Why trouble us, why make us feel so uncomfortable?" they asked. Because that feeling of discomfort, of anxiety is what will save us.

As an optimist, I believe the human race can cope with this problem. For me optimism is a programme of action. I think we can be successful only if all forces are coordinated on a global scale. After all, war has such powerful resources at its disposal—armies, industry, politicians and vast sums of money. It is vital to place something in opposition to that! It is not enough to talk. We must have our own science of peace that will tell us how to live without wars, how to tackle political, economic and racial issues by peaceful means.

In order that this should not be a pipe dream but a reality, we must invest colossal resources and apply unprecedented intellectual effort. The United Nations, for instance, already has the wherewithal to promote a science of that order. It has the experience of more than 40 years of existence without world wars. That provides a serious basis for generalization. We must go even further. We need institutes, the finest minds. Then geniuses will appear who will discover and father the theory of peace in much the same way that Einstein discovered the theory of relativity and Newton, the laws of mechanics, in much the same way that Mozart composed his music, and Pushkin his lyrics. I expect to see the appearance of the geniuses of peace.

The time has come when by continuing to live by inertia, in the old familiar way, the human race will no longer be able to cope with its tragic problems. It can resolve them only by dedicating special efforts, even a special range of efforts, by consciously turning to a fundamentally new way of development wherein the inner spirit can be made paramount.

I have been making films for children for 35 years. As I see it, concentrated in the problems of childhood are questions the answers to which point the way to the unification of the human race. After all, we are all mothers and fathers, and have all been children. Here people have a common stake. We shall be able to rally together around the problems of childhood. Without the unification of the human race, I would take a very pessimistic view of peace. The unification of the human race is the certainty of victory. ■

Antonio Quintana Simonetti: MY BIG DREAM

Antonio Quintana Simonetti is a Cuban architect.

A nuclear-free world is possible provided the imperialists renounce their claims to world supremacy. Provided they replace the economy of war with an economy of peace. Provided they abandon the manufacture of increasingly sophisticated weapons of death. Provided they finally realize that in a nuclear war there will be neither victors nor vanquished. Then the resources they squander on preparation for this carnage could be channelled into a different war, the war against hunger and poverty.

The assertion of man's true dignity cannot be divorced from the attainment of international stability.

Scientific, technological and cultural achievements will serve progress more fully. I dream of the day when people will be able to exploit the earth's resources together, for the common good. When earthlings will visit other worlds not as messengers of one or other nation, but as ambassadors for the human race, knitted into one human family. ■

Heinrich Weiss: GOOD BUSINESS MEANS STABILITY

Heinrich Weiss is president of the board of the firm SMS Schloemann-Siemag AG and chairman of the supervisory boards of several firms in the F.R.G., Switzerland, Italy and the U.S. He was a participant in the Moscow anti-nuclear forum.

I think a good, mutually advantageous business is more politically beneficial than an exchange of delegations or speeches. I think business and trade are decisive factors in international stability.

Of course, one cannot blind oneself to the fact that politics in turn affects business ties, and this, moreover, in a far from always beneficial manner. Hence the situation on the political scene is far from being a matter of indifference to us businessmen. Peace and stability represent the goal that each one of us must try to attain. Whenever I come on business to your country I am always happy to note that understanding is growing between us. Specialists from the F.R.G., who have spent a couple of years at the construction of the plant in Stary Oskol or, for instance, in Novolipetsk, get to know Soviet people well and back home retain their liking for them.

Joint ventures offer us still wider scope in that connection. It is a very astute idea.

Of course, a joint venture cannot be set up overnight. Thorough preparations are essential.

More specifically, we think that in the field of engineering it would be advisable to implement cooperation in four stages. During the first stage Soviet plants could manufacture items on the basis of West German licences. During the second stage Soviet designers could take part in development work. However, at both stages the firm from our country would shoulder full responsibility for the end result. From the third stage on, the Soviet side would assume this responsibility, as well as the functions of control. Having accumulated sufficient expertise, your specialists could work independently at all stages, from R&D to the marketing of the finished article. F.R.G. firms would contribute with additional technological novelties and know-how for a corresponding share in the profits netted. Only at the fourth stage could we have a joint engineering enterprise as such. In other fields we could evidently establish joint enterprises under a simpler arrangement, but in the field of engineering this is a most complex business.

Fortunately, both the F.R.G. and the U.S.S.R. have accumulated considerable experience in cooperation in just this field. ■

Anthony Benn:

We Need Changes Too

The red front door of 12, Holland Park Avenue, London, makes it easy for newcomers to locate the home of the well-known British politician and Labour MP Anthony Benn. This outstanding representative of the British working-class movement kindly granted an interview to our special correspondent Sergei Golyakov.

What is the social pulse of Britain today?

Since the Conservatives took office in 1979 Britain has relapsed into the Victorian practice of suppressing the working people's basic rights. Using the premeditated rise in unemployment and anti-labour legislation, the government has mounted a full-scale offensive on the trade unions. Local authorities in districts where people had voted for an improvement in the secondary education system, a solution to the housing problem and reforms in the social services also came under fire. All this threatened capitalist profits, which the Conservatives put before the interests of the people. The government curtailed civil liberties and brought the BBC under its control. All the papers have been taken over by a handful of magnates. All this has resulted in a class polarization the like of which I have never before witnessed here.

Unfortunately, the Labour movement has also proved to be below the mark for a number of reasons. It did not identify its concept of a better future with the need to promote democracy, and Britain's advance towards the socialist ideal. This is still the case today. Demands for democratic freedoms do not reach Westminster. These demands come from the grass roots, not from the top. Radicalism and the desire for change are to be observed among miners, printers, teachers, working women, pensioners, young people, blacks and Asians. But our decision makers' thinking is frozen and archaic. To change the situation we simply must have genuine democracy and a fresh approach.

Generally speaking, we are now having a bleak and difficult time, but I have a feeling that a time of hope is coming. This process is largely being facilitated by the changes now under way in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. One of the chief arguments against the ideas of socialism being accepted by Britain was that up to now there existed only one model of socialism—the socialism built in the Soviet Union in the early period of its development. Quite frankly, this model did not look particularly attractive to Britons, but now that a vigorous process of reconstruction and democratic reform is in progress in socialist countries, public attitudes have changed sharply. Entirely new possibilities are opening up in our movement, too. And here is another important point: many people I know do not regard Gorbachev simply as a new Soviet leader who offers new ideas in the field of disarmament. These ideas are of extraordinary importance in themselves, of course, and have found many ardent supporters in Britain, especially after Reykjavik. What appears no less important to me, however, is that people see in Gorbachev a leader who expresses the interests of workingmen around the world, their yearning for peace, jobs, security in old age and normal living conditions worthy of a human being. I am certain that the changes now in progress in the Soviet Union and the change of attitudes in the British working-class movement are not isolated but related phenomena. Peace and development, democracy and internationalism, morality, if you will—such are the ideals we have in common. These ideals are steadily gaining prominence on the British political scene, and this is a most encouraging development.

You have mentioned a model of socialism. We have never tried to impose it on anyone. On the other hand, the newspaper Financial Times reported recently that while on a visit to Budapest Geoffrey Howe, the British Foreign Secretary, strongly recommended that the Hungarians draw on the experience of the British Conservative government in promoting the market economy which, in his words, had transformed Britain's economic prospects. How would you comment on that?

I think that enthusing over the market economy is tragic. This kind of system might look attractive, as it is supposed to be relatively free of bureaucratic constraints. Actually, the market economy does not relieve the working people of dependence at all. It transfers power to big business, banks and transnational corporations. And most Britons, if not all, have come to realize well over the past seven years that they have been further enslaved by their masters, who are now particularly ruthless.

Accepting such a model would be a disaster. I certainly cannot imagine any socialist country doing so. There are 17 million jobless in the Common Market countries today. Mass unemployment is a factor of the survival of modern capitalism. It keeps people in fear and paralyzes the trade unions. As a result, capital is gaining in strength, and its profits are growing. Where do these profits go? To South

Africa, to supporting apartheid. Why there, of all places? Because wages in South Africa are still lower than in Britain, and trade unions have been outlawed. Consequently, anyone who allows himself to be seduced by the British economic model will reap the nightmare of injustice and social tension.

Britain leads Western Europe in military spending. At the same time the country is beset with unresolved social problems. Is this also a concomitant of the free enterprise system?

The latest statistics I have here show that military spending robs each Briton—women and children included—of six pounds 16 pence a week in taxes. So a family of four is taxed about £25 a week, or £1,200-1,300 a year. This is NATO's second highest taxation level after the United States.

Compare these figures with Japanese military spending (which constitutes about 1.5 per cent of Japan's national budget), and you will see why the world is crowded with Japanese cars, tape recorders, transistor radios and other consumer durables. In the meantime, the whole of British scientific and technical potential is geared to the development of military hardware. A considerable proportion of British industry serves the same end. Statistics say that if military spending persists at today's level (and now it amounts to about a million dollars a minute, if I'm not mistaken) the average worker will spend a solid three or four years of his life making arms.

The Soviet Union bears part of this burden, of course. In this connection, however, I'd like to point to another reason why people listen to Gorbachev. The Soviet Union wants to spend less on defence in order to ensure its economic growth; as a result, they reason, we shall spend less, too. Since we and the Soviet Union want the same thing, Gorbachev is speaking on our behalf.

The wasteful arms race must stop. Diseases that are perfectly curable kill about 250,000 children a week. Spending hundreds of billions of dollars on armaments under the circumstances is a crime against all of humanity. All the more so as it is "justified" by the great lie about the aggressiveness of the Russians, myths about Soviet tanks on the banks of the Thames, etc. Personally, I have never believed anything like this, and neither have most Britons, I'm sure. I know that millions of people in this country remember the war when our nations were allies in the common cause. My neighbour, a florist, received a Soviet decoration recently for having helped ship cargoes to Murmansk, and feels extremely flattered.

Our government spends £17 billion a year on the arms buildup. This is a heavy burden for us. Our North Sea oilfields earned us £16 billion. And what happened? All the money went into paying out the dole. Such is the cost of our economic slump, which is symbolized by four million unemployed who pay no taxes and create no material wealth. This means that Britain loses about £20 billion, and considering that each unemployed could create about as much wealth as each employed person, unemployment costs us £50 billion. As you see, British capitalism is a spendthrift who squanders his fortune on defence and unemployment, invests his profits in the Third World in order to exploit it, and ignores almost completely the needs of the ordinary people. Hence the difficult situation in the country, where the elderly are suffering and freezing to death, young people have no hope of employment, schools are short of textbooks, and the sick often have to spend two years on a waiting list for a serious operation. This is the price we pay for the militarization of our state, which is getting ever harder on its citizens and ever more profit-conscious. It suppresses strikes, tramples on human rights and ignores elementary human needs.

Nevertheless, not infrequently representatives of this state try to lecture others on human rights.

Frankly, I don't think any government in the world can be credited with outstanding achievements in this sphere. As for Britain's human rights record, it is nothing to be proud of. It occupies Northern Ireland, where it threatens the basic human right—the right to life. In our country people are jailed for political reasons. The latest examples are the arrest of Terry French, a Kent miner, and of Michael Hicks, the printers' leader, who has just been released. Dissent is fought by the most ingenious methods in Britain. A few people I know identify with Marxism in a purely theoretical sense. This alone makes them automatically ineligible for the civil service or the BBC. I think that by the very nature of democracy and the logic of experience critical voices must be heeded. Otherwise, things start going from bad to worse, and when the need for change arises it does not come about as early as desired. Therefore, I give my full support to the idea of openness Mikhail Gorbachev is working for in the Soviet Union. Our society needs openness too. I am convinced that we too are in need of many changes.

London

FIREFIGHTER HONOURED

The two men shown below are firemen. The one on the right is from the Soviet Union, the other is from the county of Essex in Britain. The two met in London where Lieutenant Colonel Leonid Telyatnikov, Hero of the Soviet Union, had been invited to receive an award from the British newspaper The Star for his peerless courage and gallantry in helping to put out the fire during the Chernobyl atomic power plant accident. Telyatnikov was awarded a gold medal and received by British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

TASS photo

Truman Doctrine Rehashed

Professor NIKOLAI YAKOVLEV

On March 12, 1947, President Truman addressed a joint sitting of the U.S. Congress. He summarily divided the world into two parts: the capitalist countries on the one side, and the socialist countries, on the other. "At the present moment," the President said, "nearly every nation must choose between the alternative ways of life," and "it must be the policy of the United States to support" its allies and clients in the struggle against "outside pressure" too.

This statement, blighting as it did hopes of continued American-Soviet cooperation after the war, went down in history as the Truman doctrine. Confrontation was becoming the dominant feature of Washington's attitude to its relations with the Soviet Union.

The circumstances in which the Truman doctrine was proclaimed, and the consequences of this move, are extremely instructive. "In an overall assessment of U.S.-Soviet relations, it might appear out of proportion to devote so much space to the first few years after the war," the American Sovietologist Adam Ulam wrote in the magazine Foreign Affairs. "Yet those were the years which set the pattern for the often tempestuous coexistence of the two superpowers, a pattern that in many ways has endured to this day."

Enshrined in the Truman doctrine were the hopes and plans of those who wanted to inflict a defeat on the Soviet Union. Truman repeated the anti-communist platitudes of Churchill, who in his notorious speech in Fulton on March 5, 1946, urged the West to defend "Christian civilization" with the help of the Anglo-American military alliance, relying on atomic weapons.

The doctrine set out the chief objectives of U.S. foreign policy, the policy of containing communism, proclaimed in the same year (1947). Almost simultaneously with the proclamation of the Truman doctrine, the author of the idea of "containment," George Kennan, clearly defined what Washington actually strove to achieve.

"Soviet society may well contain deficiencies which will eventually weaken its own total potential," he wrote then. "This would of itself warrant the United States entering with reasonable confidence upon a policy of firm containment, designed to confront the Russians with unalterable counter-force at every point.... The United States has it in its power to increase enormously the strains under which the Soviet policy must operate... and in this way to promote tendencies which must eventually find their outlet in either the breakup or the gradual mellowing of Soviet power." George Kennan claimed that "a period of ten to fifteen years" would be needed to achieve this end.

It is well known how these theoretical principles were put into effect. Aggressive blocs were formed, and U.S. military bases set up along the borders of the socialist community. By escalating the arms race Washington intended, in particular, to ruin the Soviet Union, thereby aggravating the "deficiencies" noted by Kennan.

Obsessed with the idea of "containment," Washington paid no heed to the warning made at the time by columnist Walter Lippmann. "My criticism of the policy of containment, or the so-called Truman doctrine, is that it commits this country to a struggle which has for its objective nothing more substantial than the hope that in ten or fifteen years the Soviet power will 'break up' or 'mellow'... Do we dare to assume as we enter the arena... that the Soviet Union will break its leg while the United States grows a pair of wings to speed it on its way?" As Lippmann had implicitly predicted, the United States did not grow a pair of wings.

As for Kennan, he has long ago admitted the fallacy of his calculations which resulted in serious blunders in U.S. policy.

It was believed for decades in the United States that the Truman doctrine was an elaboration of the policy of "containment." In the 1980s, however, this term has almost disappeared from the political lexicon with regard to Washington's current policy. Does this mean that the principles of behaviour towards the Soviet Union, formulated by Truman, have been consigned to oblivion?

In the opinion of political scientist Raymond Garthoff, most members of the Reagan administration believe, as many others have done since the late 1940s, "that Truman's containment policy was too soft, and that the U.S. aim should be not only to contain communism but to roll it back."

Garthoff explains this view in his 1,147-page book entitled "Détente and Confrontation. American-Soviet Relations from Nixon to Reagan." Another political scientist, John Gaddis, believes it was not until the early 1970s that the United States began sustained efforts for "a return, whether intentional or not, to the unimplemented concept of containment George F. Kennan had put forward a quarter of a century before."

As became evident decades later, the Truman doctrine also had a number of secret aspects. In his book, "The Agency. The Rise and Decline of the CIA," published in 1986, the British journalist John Ranelagh notes that the appropriations entailed by this doctrine opened the locks for subversive activity by the CIA in other countries.

Taking up Truman's ideological legacy, President Reagan has reshaped it in his own way, as became vividly clear at the annual national Evangelical conference in Orlando, Florida, on March 6, 1983.

Like Truman, President Reagan drew a line between the two worlds, calling the Soviet Union "an evil empire." "There is sin and evil in the world," he said at the Evangelical conference. "And we are enjoined by Scripture and the Lord Jesus to oppose it with all our might," for all those living in the socialist countries "are the focus of evil in the modern world."

The synthesis of religion and policy, proposed by Reagan, was ridiculed in Time magazine by veteran journalist Hugh Sidey. "Who is to say that we have a divine monopoly?" he wrote.

But the speech delivered by President Reagan at the Evangelical conference was more than rhetoric. "The real Ronald Reagan was speaking in Orlando," the New York Times pointed out. "The exaggeration and the simplicities are there not only in the rhetoric but in the process by which he makes decisions. What must Soviet leaders think? However one detests their system, the world's survival depends ultimately on mutual restraint. What confidence can they have in the restraint of an American leader with such an outlook?"

On March 7, 1987, President Reagan delivered one more speech addressed to the American people. This time he did it from Camp David. And again he drew a line, blaming the Soviet Union for regional conflicts and arrogating to the United States the right to meddle in the affairs of Afghanistan, Syria, Libya, Nicaragua and many other countries in the name of democracy.

The lessons of the Truman doctrine seem to have been lost on Washington. ■

Interview with Brigadier General Zbigniew Pudysz,
Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs,
Polish People's Republic

Who Stands to Gain?

Western radio stations usually describe the present situation in Poland as dismal. For instance, Voice of America recently spoke of Poland as a frost-bound country, where the pulse of life and thought can be felt only in the circles opposed to socialism, while Deutsche Welle alleged that clandestine Solidarity cells are being revived at factories and that they are organizing a political underground. How true are these reports? What is the real situation?

In Poland there is no organized underground movement in the form publicized by Western propaganda, General Zbigniew Pudysz says. There are only small groups which their leaders, prominent in Solidarity days, are eager to pass off as active illegal structures. All of them are known to the security service.

As compared with 1980-81, we assess the situation in the country as favourable. Socio-political life has stabilized. The economic situation has improved as well. Poland's position in the international arena has become stronger. These factors have narrowed down the social base of the so-called opposition and sapped confidence in its leaders, including leaders of the former Solidarity. Their isolation is increasing.

What does the political opposition offer the Poles today? What are its slogans?

It has no programme other than one of flat rejection of everything connected with the socialist system. Such a stand does not appeal to the majority of Poles. The enemies of socialism in Poland are fully aware of this too. Quarrels and disputes over the tactics of anti-government activity have become more frequent in their camp. Such clashes are accompanied by personal rivalry and squabbling over handouts from the West.

At the same time attacks by Western subversive propaganda centres against Poland are just as vigorous as before. They are increasingly assuming the form of direct interference in the affairs of our socialist state.

Last year alone the courts tried a dozen cases of espionage and treason. As a rule, the accused were persons recruited by the U.S. and West German intelligence services while they were outside Poland. The investigation of the activities of the Brussels Solidarity Office under Jerzy Milewski revealed that underground groups in Poland maintained criminal links with Western subversive centres.

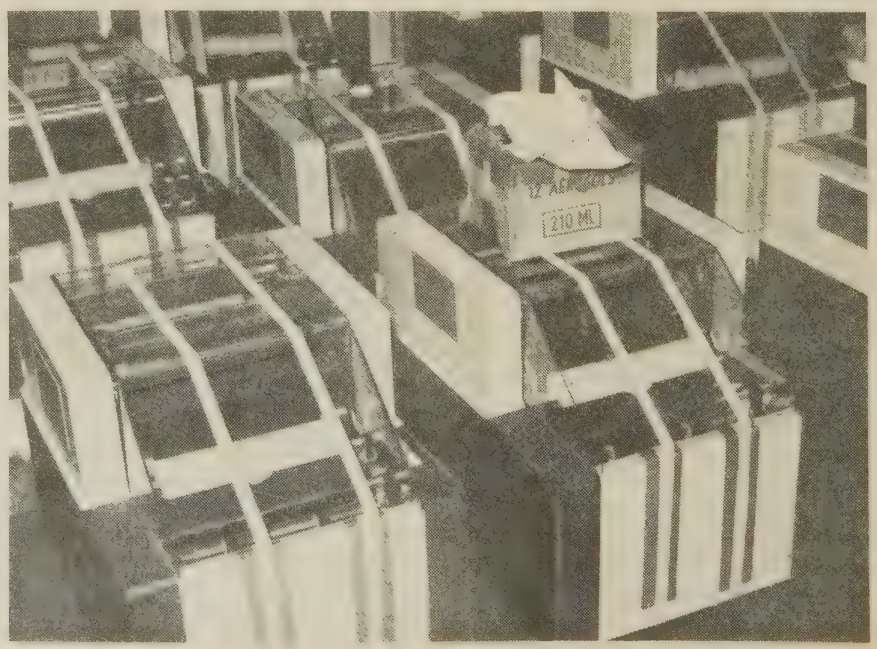
Last autumn persons found guilty of crimes they had committed for political motives were released from prison in Poland. This measure did not apply, however, to persons convicted of espionage, acts of terrorism and betrayal of state secrets. The Polish media sometimes characterized it as amnesty. What did this measure mean in practice? What results did it bring?

I would like to ask you a question in turn. Could a weak state afford to take such a humane step? This amnesty demonstrated that socio-political life in the country had stabilized. This was its main purpose and main result.

By the beginning of this year, 225 persons had been released from prison and several hundred, whose cases were under investigation, were allowed to go free. Five hundred and eighty-five voluntarily gave themselves up to the authorities. These people had engaged in anti-government activities but were not under arrest. We also know that, while many had not made any statement to the authorities concerned, they actually abandoned their illegal activities.

We carried out an unusual operation. The internal affairs authorities issued summonses to members of many conspiratorial groups and to a significant number of people who were aiding and abetting them. The interview revealed that these people had no inkling of how well informed we were about their activities. Our comrades told them that their secrecy was mere delusion and that their activities were futile. At the same time, the authorities warned the conspirators that if they carried on they would be punished.

The duplicating machines that were to be smuggled in to the Polish underground movement from Sweden but were confiscated by frontier guards at the Swinoujscie checkpoint.



The amnesty created a qualitatively new situation. It deprived the West of its basic arguments about the existence of an opposition in Poland.

Have the people you interviewed understood the government's humane intentions?

Only 0.5 per cent, i.e., one in 200, persisted in anti-government activities. So the amnesty was wholly justified.

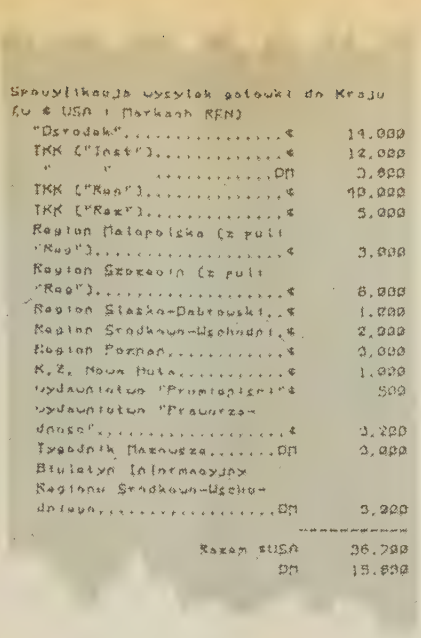
However, among the people we released there are a few who are reluctant to come to terms with present-day reality. They are, admittedly, few in number and we know all of them by name. There have been attempts to "resuscitate" some of the Solidarity structures. Their slogan has remained unchanged: it is the "trade union pluralism" that recently cost Poland so much.

I wonder what form this "pluralism" would have taken in the face of the present All-Poland Trade Union Alliance with a membership of seven million? If such a situation had emerged, the trade unions affiliated to the All-Poland Trade Union Alliance would have had to deal with such difficult problems as the raising of labour productivity, and the modernization of industry, whereas Solidarity, if legalized, would have demanded higher wages, regardless of the performance, and more holidays. They would have urged the workers to go on strike. Thus, "trade union pluralism" would have revived obviously anti-government organizations in Poland and led to social tensions again.

The extremists who are demagogically hailing "pluralism" in the hope of making a comeback to politics claim that they enjoy public support. However, it has turned out that the support is of a somewhat different, material, character. And its source is not Poland, but the West.

Late last year a Scania truck from Sweden was held up at the frontier post in Swinoujscie. It was carrying printing equipment, computers, radio transmitters, and propaganda material. The estimated cost of this illegal freight, which weighed 8.5 tons, was $300,000. It was established that the vehicle had proceeded to Poland with the consent of the Swedish frontier guards and police. The senders were again acting in the name of the Solidarity office in Brussels.

A short while ago a minibus from Norway was held up at the same frontier post in Swinoujscie. Some 1,500 anti-Polish pamphlets were found under a false floor. The customs officials thought the OMO washing powder packages from Hamburg suspiciously heavy. It was transmitters, a miniature camera with films, videotapes and a large sum of money in dollars and West Germar



Sposylkowaja wypisek gotowki do Kraju
(w $ USA i Markach RFN)

"Ośrodek"	$	14.000
TKK ("Jest")	$	12.000
" "	DM	3.000
TKK ("Rag")	$	10.000
TKK ("Rak")	$	5.000
Region Małopolska (z puli "Rag")	$	3.000
Region Szczecin (z puli "Rag")	$	8.000
Region Slasko-Dabrowski	$	1.000
Region Srodkowo-Wschodni	$	2.000
Region Poznan	$	3.000
K.Z. Nowa Huta	$	1.000
wydawnictwo "Przemysl"	$	500
wydawnictwo "Prawnicze-donosy"	$	3.200
Tygodnik Mazowsze	DM	3.000
Biuletyn Informacyjny Regionu Srodkowo-Wschodniego	DM	3.200
Razem	$USA	36.700
	DM	15.800

Fragment of a document sent from Brussels to Solidarity in Poland listing the recipients of handouts in dollars or F.R.G. marks.

marks. The receiver was one J. Teliga, who was trying to set up a Solidarity organization among individual farmers.

These and many other facts reveal what the money sent to the Solidarity leaders is to be spent on. I refer also to the $512,000 allocated by the U.S. National Endowment for Democracy.

The AFL-CIO is supplying large sums of money for subversive activities against Poland. We believe that they are not made up exclusively of trade union dues. As I have pointed out, a part of this money is appropriated by "political fighters" for purely personal purposes. For instance, Adam Michnik, who has no job, celebrated his birthday at the villa of a U.S. journalist. The party was attended by close on 300 guests.

I was told that a Solidarity leader who had been convicted of anti-government activities refused to leave jail, although an extensive campaign for his release was being conducted in the F.R.G. and several other Western countries. Does this mean that if an opponent to socialism is in prison he carries more weight?

It does. As soon as a "freedom fighter" is released, he can no longer pose as a "martyr and hero," and his bosses abroad start to lose interest in him. The West, particulary the U.S., is short of arguments with propaganda value. That is why the Western propaganda machine has again been harping recently on "political prisoners" in Poland. Whose fate is worrying it? The West is trying to pass off saboteurs and terrorists as "political prisoners." Among them are three criminals from Lodz region—the Wypychowski brothers and their friend Radosz—who have links with the Solidarity organization. What exploits have they performed? They are guilty of derailing two freight and one passenger trains. They have naturally been given prison sentences for their crimes.

The Western media named five inhabitants of Legnica "political prisoners." (They have now been released.) They tried to use the explosives stolen by them at a copper-ore mine for organizing terrorist acts. For instance, they attempted to demolish a filling station in the town.

What are you concentrating most of your efforts on now?

Above all on preventing crime and countering possible acts on the part of our political opponents. We know that to overcome the present economic difficulties and get the country onto the path of accelerated development, the whole people must work conscientiously and purposefully. This also requires stability. We must therefore prevent any actions that might interfere with the rhythm of social labour. It is not fortuitous that every sign indicative of the normalization of the situation in the country, the growing prestige of the Polish United Workers' Party, and the increasing strength of the socialist state is regarded in some Western countries as a signal for renewed attacks on Poland. However, if our preventive measures with respect to potential offenders endangering the vital interests of the socialist state prove ineffective, we shall not fail to resort to measures of compulsion. It would be appropriate to quote Wojciech Jaruzelski. He said: "Those who intend to hammer together all sorts of adventurous and anti-government groups and open another round of anarchy in the country would do well to remember that the law cannot be stretched too far."

In conclusion, I would like to make it clear that the U.S. and other NATO countries are drawing attention to the problem of so-called "political prisoners" not because Washington, Bonn or Paris are guided by humane considerations. Far from it. The West needs "political prisoners" in Poland because this is the only way it can credibly engage in anti-Polish campaigns.

Interviewer: SERGEI KULIK,
TASS political analyst

Microwaves Against Greenham Women

The courage of the British women picketing the U.S. military base at Greenham Common has long been public knowledge. For seven years these women have been fighting against heavy odds to get the authorities to refuse to accept American cruise missiles on British soil. Although the Greenham campaigners were not awarded the Nobel Peace Prize (and it was proposed more than once that they should), their indefatigable perseverance and dedication have been appreciated by millions the world over.

The public also knows of the ruthlessness of the British police and American military police at Greenham Common. But it seems that the worst secret has been kept under wraps. The Swedish journal Vi Mänskor has reported that a new, sophisticated way of fighting the dissidents has been used at Greenham Common.

The first missiles were brought to the base in November 1983 and shortly afterwards veteran picketers developed symptoms of an unknown and very alarming illness. They felt nausea, hemorrhaged and were affected by inexplicable burns, hair loss, mysterious blackouts and miscarriages. British physicians involved in the anti-missile protests have examined the women and concluded that the symptoms must have been caused by microwave radiation from behind the barbed wire fence surrounding the missile site. Today the Medical Campaign Against Nuclear Weapons is collecting evidence of the barbarous use of radiation against the protesters. The physicians believe there is a source of microwave radiation, or several such sources at the base.

The suspicion that pacifists had been deliberately exposed to radiation is so well founded that the Swedish Foreign Ministry has opened an investigation of its own. But the mass media in Britain and other NATO countries, usually so eager for a scoop, are preserving an uncharacteristic silence. The "death rays" from Greenham Common have not reached their editorial offices.

WILDLIFE

"Elephant Compromise"

This year 45,000 elephants will be shot in Africa. A massacre? Not at all. A congress of the Wildlife Conservation International society in New York described the programme as "an elephant compromise" and the first practical step in a new strategy.

Attempts to set up national parks in the poorer parts of Africa, Latin America and Asia are usually unsuccessful: the authorities are unable to guarantee proper protection, while the local population grumble because they are denied their only means of subsistence, hunting.

The "elephant compromise" takes due account of reality. Together with nature protection societies, African governments will fix quotas for the exports of ivory (90,000 tusks in 1987). The shooting of the animals is permitted within this limit, while the importer countries have pledged not to buy ivory from any source other than the official producer governments.

In the first months of 1987, ivory prices plunged on the black market, which means the new strategy works. Moreover, locals now have an interest in controlling poaching: the ivory trade is estimated at $50 million in profits a year. This money, once pocketed by the poachers, will now be earned honestly by local hunters.

If annual quotas are fixed sensibly, both the elephants and the ivory trade will survive.

From Panorama (Italy)

TRAGEDY

This photograph was not taken for a family album: Hussein Mokalled, 43, who lives in the South Lebanese village of Arab Salim, was advertising in Al Nahar eight of his eleven children for sale. Driven to desperation by the war, hunger and poverty, Hussein Mokalled says he will charge a moderate price if the prospective buyer risks coming to his village, shelled and bombed as it is by the Israelis daily.

SCHEMES

Castles in the Water

Huge floating cities, a magnetic-cushion train reaching up to 400 kilometres per hour, and a hypersonic Orient Express superplane capable of covering the distance from New York to T
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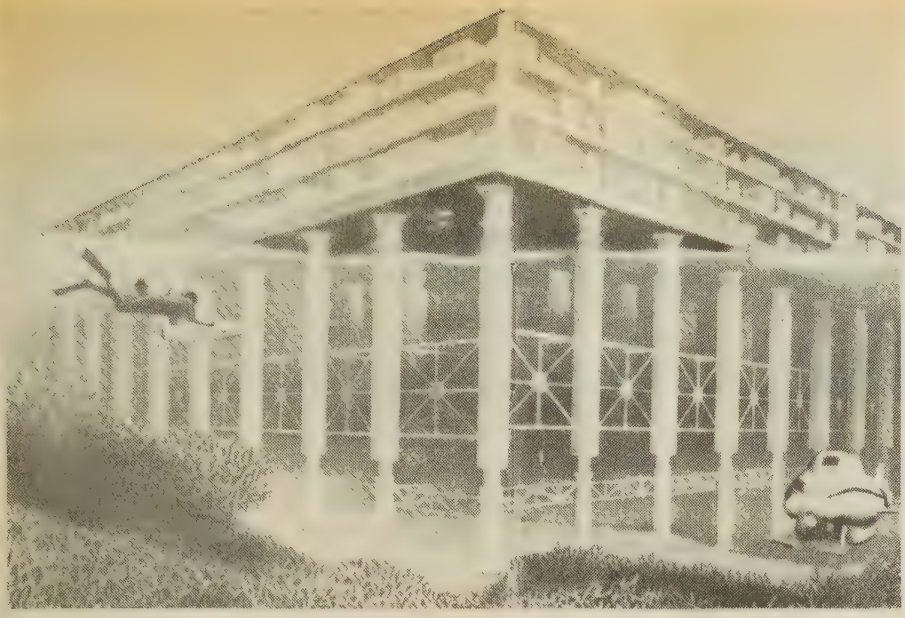


Plan for the artificial island-city.

From Newsweek (U.S.)

The Seikan Tunnel between islands of Honshu and Hokkaido is a sad memorial to ambition. It has now been under construction for 23 years and has swallowed vast funds. The tunnel is likely to be finished in a year or two, but no one yet has any idea how it will be used. Many people say the money has been wasted.

UNDER THE SURFACE

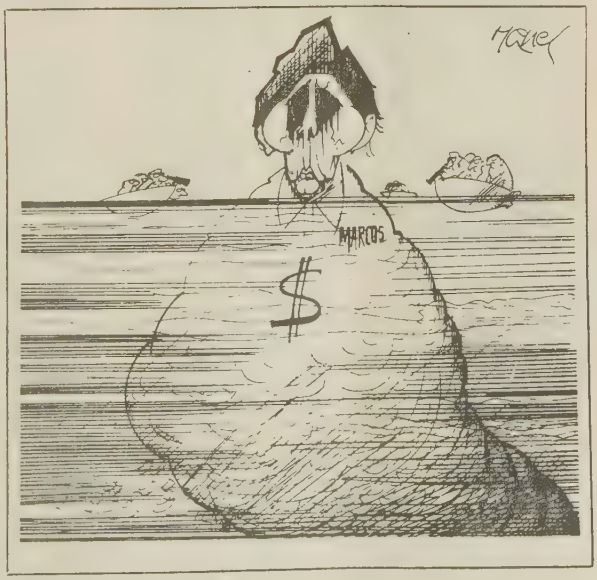
Discordant Note

Friction between the United States and the European Communities over certain trifles, such as farm fodder, should not be taken seriously: in reality America's senior officials could not be more sympathetic to the EC.

The EC proclaimed the year 1987 European Year of the Environment, and U.S. Ambassador to the Common Market William Middendorf formally handed EC commissioner Stanley Davis, responsible for the environment, the fruit of his musical-political inspiration, the March of the European Communities. The ambassador's composition in which he said he tried to express U.S. solidarity with the ecological efforts of the EC was immediately performed for journalists. But the timing seemed unfortunate: at that moment the foreign ministers of the EC countries were in session in the building opposite, working hard to find a way of meeting the latest U.S. demands.

HAVE-BEENS

According to official Philippine statistics, the toppled President Marcos robbed the country of at least $2 billion. He has been sued for this sum. In the meantime, his supporters have reportedly built up a $2.4 million fund to finance the dictator's reinstatement. One wonders where all this money comes from. Marcos's loot, perhaps?



Drawing from Frankfurter Allgemeine (F.R.G.)

SORE SPOT

Lieutenant General James Abrahamson, Director of the Strategic Defence Initiative Organization, is very unhappy with one of his chief contractors, the Martin Marietta corporation. According to the Washington Post, Martin Marietta engineers have designed a new space tracking project in Denver R2D2. It sounds very much like the name of one of the robots in the "Star Wars" serial, R2D2. But the SDI bosses, who continue to claim that their programme is peaceful, are doing all they can to avoid such parallels.

MARCINKUS, OUT WITH YOU!

The Italian authorities have issued a warrant for the arrest of Archbishop Paul Marcinkus, Director of the Vatican Bank, in connection with the bankruptcy of the Milan-based Banco Ambrosiano in 1982. At the time clients were swindled out of $1.2 billion.

The warrant reads that Paul Marcinkus, Archbishop from Illinois, U.S.A., is "an accessory to fraudulent bankruptcy."

Whatever the case, Marcinkus can only be arrested if he ventures into Italian territory. Behind the walls of Vatican, however, the fraudulent archbishop is in absolute safety.

THIRTY GENERATIONS LATER

A South Korean boy named Soh fell in love with a girl named Soh. They did not think much about the coincidence as there are many namesakes in the country: one in five South Koreans is called Kim. But when they decided to marry, it transpired that they had a common ancestor, a man named Soh, 30 generations ago. Meanwhile, under the family legislation endorsed in 1958 on the basis of ancient customs, such a "close" relationship excluded marriage, every bit as much as if the young people were brother and sister. The couple decided to live as common-law man and wife.

Two children were born to them—but they were considered illegitimate and, under South Korean regulations, could not go to school. The Sohs, despairing, had to emigrate.

Human Survival and Nature Conservation

Man erodes the environment by his economic activity, but a nuclear war would cause global ecological catastrophe. Can the struggle for peace be separated from the effort to save the environment?

Eternal Truths

The international conference on the protection of the environment and the defence of world peace held in Varna, Bulgaria, last year discussed the responsibility of scientists for the protection of nature and peace on earth. The conference was attended by 88 scientists from 32 countries, and representatives of eleven international organizations (including UNESCO, UNEP, the Life Institute and the Pugwash movement). The conference launched a new worldwide movement of scientists, Ecoforum for Peace, and elected a board of seven prominent scientists from various countries. The movement's headquarters and secretariat are in Bulgaria.

The campaigns against the nuclear threat and the destruction of nature have always been closely interrelated, often borrowing each other's arguments. Nevertheless, they have developed separately. The Varna forum highlighted their interconnection and interdependence and provided an organizational form and a basis for their unification. Ecoforum for Peace brought together the two most important movements of our time, the anti-war and the ecological movements.

Its declaration identifies the following three goals of the new movement:

—to rally the efforts of the global scientific community and all committed towards assuring the co-development or co-evolution of humankind and nature as a necessary condition for life and social progress;

—to encourage the world ecological and related communities in their efforts to mobilize the peoples and oblige the governments of all nations to achieve and safeguard peace in the world and to promote appropriate development on a sound ecological basis;

—to mobilize our fellow researchers throughout the world to help create the trust among nations necessary to achieve these aims.

The Ecoforum for Peace was a milestone in promoting the new mode of thinking that all of us, individuals, nations and the whole of mankind, need to adopt in this nuclear age.

Humanity is entering a new stage in its development. Humanistic aspirations must be fostered, for reason and humanism are the "eternal truths" that have ensured the existence of the human race. New social, moral, scientific and ecological concepts that correspond to the new conditions of mankind's existence today and in the future are required. The Ecoforum for Peace proceeds from the assumption that the joint strategy of tackling global problems must be permeated with humanism and the ideals of social progress and international cooperation. It is called upon to stimulate the whole of mankind in its efforts to solve the problems of peace and disarmament. The movement's ideas are expressed in the Appeal for the Survival of Humankind and Life on the Planet, addressed to the peoples and governments of the world.

An important feature of the new united anti-war and ecological movement that distinguishes it from other movements is that it transcends various specialized sciences and social groups, includes ecology in the context of current world socio-political problems and makes each scientist and each individual aware of his responsibility for life on earth.

IVAN FROLOV
Corresponding Member,
U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences

Wipe Out the "Pockmarks"

Nature is heading inexorably for disaster: the atmosphere, the soil and the water—the Trinity of the biosphere—have been polluted to the limit.

There are virtually no "blank spots" left on the map. Instead, there is a frightening proliferation of "pockmarks"—deserts, felled forests, and other areas hit by ecological disasters.

Our ancestors naively believed the earth's resources to be limitless and infinite. The North African deserts, that millennia-old festering wound of the planet—were once a fertile plain. Countless herds of wild animals have trampled and devoured the vegetation on these vast tracts of land, the soil has been eroded, and the sands have taken over.

The ecological ignorance of our ancestors—for which they were not to blame—has been responsible for the extinction of thousands of species of animal, bird and fish. Our present superior knowledge does not entitle us to blame the people who lived in antiquity, in the Middle Ages, and even in modern times. To achieve his present omnipotence, man fought an uphill battle against nature, a battle that claimed victims and involved tragedies.

Man's "achievements" in "conquering nature" have been so spectacular that his economic activity has proved to be a greater influence on the biosphere than have natural processes.

The unprecedented explosion of science and technology in the 20th century grafted an artificial organ onto the biosphere, i.e., the world economy, which is slowly, but surely poisoning it. Nature has long exhausted its key resource, the capacity to cleanse itself of industrial and other waste. Man has crossed the fatal threshold.

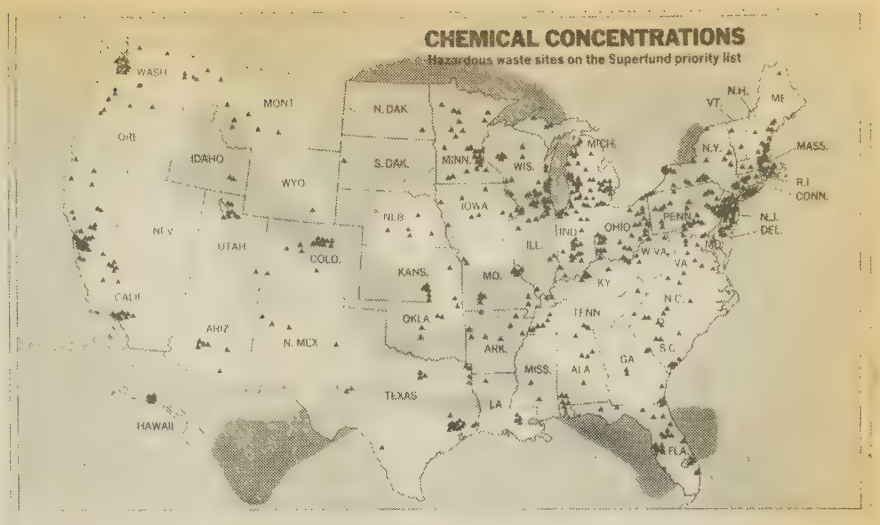
The sorry record of ecological ignorance on earth is reflected in tragic figures. Two billion hectares of arable land have been destroyed. This is 50 per cent more than is in use at present. Desertification, mining and urban development claim as many as 7 million hectares of land every year. Deserts and semi-deserts occupy 53.3 million sq. km. Every minute the invasion of deserts claims 44 hectares of fertile land.

Forests are disappearing at a rate of 20 hectares a minute, with tropical forests—one of the main oxygen producers—shrinking by 1 per cent a year. Unless this process is stopped, there will be a shortage of oxygen in the tropics by the mid-21st century.

According to the International Union for the Protection of Nature, 76 species of animal and several hundred species of plant have vanished from the planet in the last 60 years. Another 132 mammal and 26 bird species face extinction. This is tragic because it means the loss of valuable genetic stock and upsets the fine balance in nature that ensures the existence of life on earth.

Today the death of animals and plants is caused not so much by physical extermination (hunting, fishing and open-face mining), as by the chemical and other industrial pollution of the biosphere.

Each year more than 200 million tons of carbon monoxide, over 50 million tons of hydrocarbons, 120 million tons of ash, and about 150 million tons of sulphur dioxide are released into the atmosphere to return to the earth in the form of "acid rain." To this we should add heat, radioactivity, noise and other types of pollution which affect ecological systems to varying degrees.



Waste products from chemical plants represent the gravest threat to the environment.

Already more carbon dioxide is being accumulated in the atmosphere (by burning fuel) than can be absorbed by land and ocean plants. The world economy releases as much dust and ash as volcanoes.

The global scale of man-made modifications to the environment is a reality that makes the optimization of relations between man and nature imperative.

Mankind, however, has been tardy in changing its attitude from one of seeking absolute mastery over nature to that of equal relations between man and nature. In the 1950s, when I was at secondary school, our natural science teachers told us about the conquest of nature, a fact one finds hard to believe today. People were slow to realize that they should not conquer but preserve and cooperate with nature on its terms.

Now people have taken the first timid step in that direction. The main thing is that many of them have reappraised their values and have come to realize that the ecological crisis is a consequence of many factors, but above all, the profligate use of natural resources.

Economic, social, technological and biological processes have become so interdependent that modern production must be seen as a complex eco-economic system. It is wrong to see economy and ecology as diametrically opposed, as some authorities do: such an approach inevitably leads to one extreme or the other. In my view the material and scientific basis for the protection and planned improvement of the environment will be provided not by slowing down economic development as advocated by the adherents to the "zero growth" theory, but by further economic progress, the improvement of economic structures, and the ecologization of technology.

We cannot afford to be utopian. Hundreds of millions of hungry, illiterate, poverty-stricken people have no idea of ecological problems. The poor countries need economic growth. And in advanced countries, the computer and biotechnological revolutions notwithstanding, much of production will remain "dirty" for some time. The task is to determine scientifically the level of pollution with which nature can cope thanks to its unique capacity for purifying and renewing itself. Together, man and nature must create a reasonable eco-economic system.

GENNADY PISAREVSKY

A Hole in the Shield

In the past, wars left their scars only where they were waged, and did not affect the atmosphere or the World Ocean. The impact of nuclear weapons is global and will affect land, air and sea environments. Nuclear explosions on the ground will cause irreversible changes in the chemical composition of the upper atmosphere.

Life on earth is impossible without

ozone. This gas, concentrated chiefly in the stratosphere (at an altitude of 10-50 kilometres), creates an "ozone shield" which protects life on the planet from the deadly impact of harsh ultraviolet radiation from the sun.

Nitric oxides are among the main enemies of ozone. A group of experts at the U.S. National Academy of Sciences have come to the conclusion that the high temperature in the stratosphere resulting from a nuclear explosion would split the main component of the atmosphere, nitrogen, and form large amounts of nitric oxides. As a result, the ozone would be virtually destroyed in the Northern Hemisphere and the amount in the Southern Hemisphere halved.

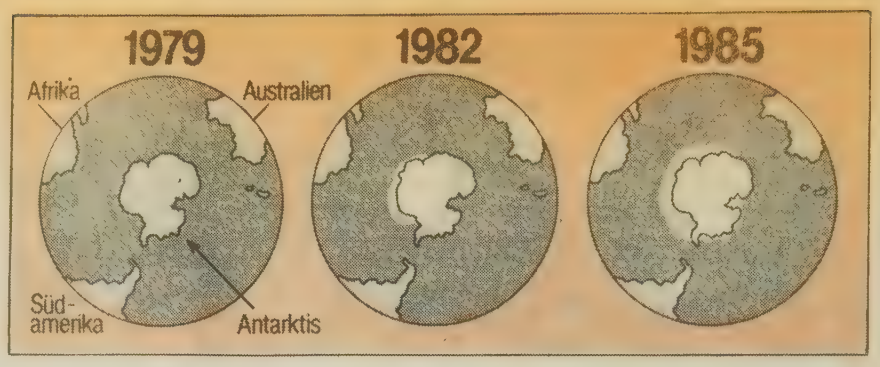
Harmful admixtures are washed out of the atmosphere by precipitation. There is a real danger, therefore, that most radioactive fallout would settle on earth in areas where rains are more frequent (notably in the so-called green belt).

The scientists P.J. Crutzen of the F.R.G. and J.W. Birks of the U.S. (in a study reported in the Swedish journal Ambio in 1982) drew attention to another danger from nuclear blasts: the release of vast amounts of carbon (soot) aerosol, gaseous nitric oxides and other chemically active compounds as a result of the fires caused by nuclear explosions.

Crutzen and Birks predict that forest fires in the Northern Hemisphere would cover an area of a million sq. km. and last two months. Fires in cities and industrial centres, oil fields and oil and gas pipelines would be even more dangerous. Marine flora and fauna would be affected and phyto- and zooplankton in more than half the seas in the Northern Hemisphere would perish.

Concluding his report to a forum of physicians in Amsterdam, Crutzen said that all the scientific data on the consequences of nuclear war indicate that it would leave no chance of survival.

In 1983 a group of American scientists published its concept of "nuclear winter": clouds of smoke would block out the sunlight, causing a catastrophic drop in temperature. A team of researchers at the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences Computer Centre has looked into the geographical distribution of the consequences of nuclear war proceeding from experimental data. Nuclear tests high above the ground held in 1958 had a considerable effect on the ozone layer. The destruction of the layer continued with blasts in 1961 and 1962. By the summer of 1964 the ozone content had dropped by some 8 per cent as compared with the beginning of 1962. It is to be regretted that the conclusion of the British scientist John Hampson to the effect that high-altitude nuclear explosions would produce nitric oxides on a far larger scale than low-altitude explosions has gone largely unheeded.



The breach in the ozone layer that appears above Antarctica every autumn since 1979 is expanding.

From Time (U.S.) and Stern (F.R.G.)

When a multitude of moving targets appear (in first- and retaliatory-strike strategy) the defending side will launch missiles with powerful warheads against them to destroy both real and decoy targets. Explosions in the stratosphere will form nitric oxides and cause infrared radiation. Air temperature at an altitude of 35-40 kilometres will increase by several tens of degrees. This layer will be thermically exploded and the ozone in it destroyed. Subsequent disruptions in circulation will then sweep the whole atmosphere.

Most specialists in the West are of the opinion that the consequences of explosions in the upper atmosphere would not affect the lower layers. This conviction is based on the supposed rate of decomposition of nitric oxides in the upper layers, which has been exaggerated by Crutzen and Birks. Their hypothesis is probably erroneous. Numerous measurements indicate that nitric oxides can last weeks and not minutes at the altitudes of 120-300 kilometres.

Some scientists have drawn the dangerous conclusion that nuclear explosions in the upper atmosphere would have no appreciable global effect on the chemical composition of the stratosphere and the troposphere. The idea that SDI is possible and safe stems precisely from that conclusion.

Some Western researchers put too much trust in the results of experiments with mathematical models, which give a schematic and incomplete picture of atmospheric processes. Whether they like it or not, their conclusions justify the arms race in outer space. In reality SDI leads to a global ecological catastrophe. "Nuclear winter" will be one of the ecological consequences of nuclear war. Nuclear tests in the atmosphere brought down the temperature in the Northern Hemisphere by 0.3°C in the mid-sixties. Explosions with a total yield of 10,000 megatons would cause a catastrophic—9.5°C—drop in temperature. On the other hand, calculations show that the pollution of the atmosphere immediately after the nuclear blasts would increase the greenhouse effect to such an extent as to cause a temporary warming of the climate. The situation would be similar to that observed on Venus where solar radiation hardly reaches the planet's surface, and the temperature is as high as 500°C due to a powerful greenhouse effect. The warming of the climate will only last until the clouds of the atmospheric pollution have dispersed.

Observations of anomalous phenomena in the atmosphere and data on weather and climatic changes in the period between 1958 and 1962, when the most powerful atmospheric nuclear tests were held, indicate that nuclear conflict would bring about an ecological disaster and the death of civilization on earth. This last act in the life of humanity might begin with the devastation of the Northern Hemisphere and end with global ecological climatic collapse and global radioactive pollution. This is the only valid scientific conclusion and it challenges the view that the use of nuclear weapons is acceptable, advocated by the theoretical physicist Edward Teller, who proceeds from erroneous ideas about the physical and chemical processes accompanying nuclear explosions in the stratosphere.

By omitting changes in the gas composition of the upper atmosphere an illusion is created that the impact of nuclear war would be confined to the troposphere and the lower stratosphere. However, the inevitable changes in the composition of gases in the upper atmosphere are even more dangerous in ecological terms. The most likely consequences of nuclear war are not just a catastrophic drop in temperature, but total destabilization of the climate.

KIRILL KONDRATYEV
and GENRIKH NIKOLSKY

What Will the Weather Be Like?

It is difficult to predict changes in climate due even to simple processes taking place in the atmosphere. Some scientists build modern models of the general circulation in the atmosphere to conclude that serious influences on the weather and the climate are undesirable. Others, however, argue that climate is insensitive to the methods of interference with nature they suggest.

One thing that is recognized by most scientists and experts today is that extraneous effects on the atmosphere are unpredictable and therefore dangerous.

Attempts have been made artificially to destroy tornadoes in their initial stage. All that could be done was to delay or slow down their development. But tornadoes would then arise in other areas. Scientists believe that there is a cause-and-effect relationship here.

Scientists are assessing the possible climatic changes in the event of global nuclear war. They argue about how long and severe the nuclear winter would be, whether it would destroy crops and kill the entire population in all countries, or whether there would be survivors. There may, however, be other consequences that existing models do not reveal, for example, sudden natural phenomena such as storms, hurricanes and catastrophic torrential rains.

Such destructive phenomena may be caused not only by global, but even by a local nuclear war in which a relatively small number of nuclear explosions occur. Specialists know that such cataclysms can be occasioned by far weaker environmental factors as, for example, the thermal effect of cities.

GENNADY KURBATKIN
Corresponding Member of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, Deputy Director of the Hydrometeorological Centre of the U.S.S.R.

"Laser Winter"

The "star wars" programme involves the development of various types of laser weapons. The earth's atmosphere is opaque to X-ray and hydrogen fluorine lasers, but all other kinds of laser radiations are not so readily absorbed by the atmosphere. Such lasers can be used to strike low-flying or ground targets and destroy and set fire to fuel dumps. As a result, a vast amount of soot aerosol would be released which would screen solar radiation. This, like the "nuclear winter," would decrease the amount of light to reach the earth's surface and cause a drastic fall in temperature.

ALEXANDER GINSBURG, Cand. Sc. (Phys. and Math.).

Harmonizing with Nature

Cooperation between scientists in the U.S., the U.S.S.R. and other countries is vital in the study of how the biosphere would react to global cataclysms, whether it be nuclear war or the barbaric pollution of the environment as a result of ill-considered economic activities. I suggest, as a first step, convening an international seminar to draw up various scenarios of man's impact on the environment, and set up an international team of scientists. An informal body will probably be needed to coordinate research, store data and collate the efforts of members.

Another area of international effort could be the problem of "local ecological stresses." Today major engineering projects capable of bringing about essential changes in the global ecological situation are a reality.

At the beginning of the next century people will be capable of carrying out projects which seemed fantastic yesterday. These projects cannot be regarded as being within the competence of individual states, as they would affect the ecological situation in many countries, regions, and even the planet as a whole.

Some may feel that this is a matter for the future. But we must prepare ourselves today. We must draw lessons from Chernobyl, Bhopal, and the disaster on the Rhine. Not only nuclear power plants but major chemical enterprises should be regarded as potential "trouble spots."

Finally, we must think of some unique natural phenomena, such as Lake Baikal in Siberia. The value of these phenomena is absolute and their significance for the future transcends national boundaries. We must be able to predict their fate, just as the consequences of large-scale engineering projects and industrial disasters.

Regional problems call for new approaches and new organizational forms of research. Some work is already being done internationally and nationally. We too can make a tangible contribution to international scientific cooperation. We have, for instance, amassed some experience in the quantitative analysis of lake ecosystems and the monitoring of the environment. We are making successful use of computers to analyze the interaction between underground and surface water discharge.

"Institutes of agreement" should have a special role to play in international scientific programmes. The study of natural systems reveals to us the limits of the permissible. But where is the guarantee that everyone will keep within the limits of ecological stability determined by scientists? Collective decisions are necessary to make people act within the frameworks allowed by nature. People have different interests and will not necessarily accept the recommendations of scientists. Meanwhile, agreement to comply with those recommendations on global problems is particularly important.

We must be realistic and recognize that countries with different political and economic structures and different scales of values due to tradition, geographical conditions and social system will exist in the foreseeable future. Is it possible in these conditions to reach agreements and compromises?

My answer to these questions is, yes, even though I am fully aware that it is an unprecedentedly difficult task.

Academician NIKITA MOISEYEV

Sohrab Goth Takes Revenge

Heroin mafia behind Karachi massacre!

LEV YELIN

Operation Clean-Up was launched on December 12, 1986. Pakistani army and police units descended on Sohrab Goth, a suburb of Karachi, with the objective of destroying secret stores of narcotics. They began a house-to-house search. And houses where heroin or unprocessed opium were found were razed to the ground with bulldozers.

Two days later, at dawn on December 14, revenge for the clean-up struck—unexpected and horrible. The thugs from Sohrab Goth attacked the neighbouring district of Orangi inhabited by Biharis (Muslims who lived before partition in Bihar Province, which in 1947 became part of India). It has been rumoured that it was the Biharis, the old enemies of Sohrab Goth, who had leaked information to the authorities and were therefore responsible for the Army raid. Marauders from Sohrab Goth shot Biharis, knifed them, and set fire to homes and shops. Women were thrown into the flames.... Despite the desperate efforts of thousands of soldiers, by the end of December more than 200 people had lost their lives in the slaughter. No less than 500 were wounded. The chain reaction of violence and vandalism, which at first glance seemed inexplicable, continued throughout January and February, spreading to more and more districts of Karachi. And few people seemed to have noticed behind the tragic news that piled up each day the simple fact that Operation Clean-Up had failed. There could be no question of it being resumed.

Western newspapers described the events in Orangi as an ordinary communal rioting. But that is far too simplistic an explanation for events in which so much still remains a mystery.

Pakistan's Prime Minister Mohammad Khan Junejo blamed "subversive elements" for the bloodbath. References to a "secret hand" that had provoked the unrest were also made in the National Assembly. To whom were they referring?

We have our own view.

The Golden Crescent and Its New Kings

The population of Sohrab Goth is made up of Pashtuns, not only of Pakistani, but also of Afghan origin. They are refugees who for one reason or another left Afghanistan following the April 1978 revolution. There are thousands of them in the suburbs of Karachi, but they are particularly numerous and strong in Sohrab Goth. What was unusual about Operation Clean-Up was that it was directed against both Pakistani and Afghan heroin dealers. The refugees had been forcibly moved to camps further away from Karachi. The authorities finally decided on this move after having tolerated for years heroin smuggling, armed attacks, and clashes between Afghan refugees and the local population.

It would be absurd to blame all the Afghan refugees who for one reason or other had ended up in Pakistan, and specifically Karachi, for these crimes. Large numbers of them live in hunger and poverty. But this accusation can be justly levelled against a certain section, usually connected with counterrevolutionary groupings. This section is comparatively affluent and well-armed and its members by no means see themselves as guests in another nation's house. They have joined forces with local criminal elements and formed a drug mafia.

This mafia has existed for exactly as long as the undeclared war against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan (D.R.A.) has been waged from Pakistan.

For decades the frontier regions in the triangle formed by Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iran had been known as producers of drugs. The area was called the Golden Crescent. The overthrow of the Shah in Iran and the April revolution in Afghanistan upset the well-worked-out system of growing opium and processing it into heroin No. 4 (the brand names for which are Cobra, the Star and the Crescent, Afghan 707). All that remained of the crescent was the Pakistani tip, but in 1979-80 it produced a record harvest. Laboratories for processing opium mushroomed with unbelievable speed in the border regions of Pakistan. According to the New York Times, there were no less than twenty of them and they compensated completely for those that had been destroyed in Iran. Some counterrevolutionary leaders began to run them, having turned the Pakistani border regions into their main base. Many of them were familiar with the drug trade. In April 1979, the Canadian magazine Maclean's had noted that the feudal lords, threatened with the confiscation of their property by the new Afghan government, were sending their opium harvest to Pakistan and using the profits to buy rifles, explosives and other weapons.

Even then it was suspected that behind the success of the Crescent stood the CIA, which was sponsoring the counterrevolutionaries and was interested in acquiring untraceable funds for the undeclared war against Democratic Afghanistan. A top official of the White House Drug Abuse Policy Office told a New York Times correspondent in May 1980 that they were worried by the production of opium in Afghanistan and Pakistan by the rebel

tribes. Perhaps, he added, we are again following a wrong path in getting involved with the rebel tribes. He recalled a similar mistake in Laos, when the Air America company belonging to the CIA had transported opium. Later it was revealed that in Southwest Asia, too, the CIA had provided counterrevolutionaries who had fled from Afghanistan with facilities for transporting heroin, and even American military aircraft. That is not hard to believe if one recalls that during the war in Vietnam the CIA made $4.5 billion from the opium trade. The money was placed in Nugan Hand Bank in Australia, founded by the CIA especially for the purpose of "laundering"—legalizing—the drug dollars.

The new kings of the Golden Crescent—whether by themselves or with CIA help—established ties with the American-Sicilian mafia in the United States. Afghan 707 quickly conquered the United States. In 1982 the first trial of mafiosi trading in Pakistani heroin took place in New York. For some reason it was held in camera, and the sentences passed were very lenient. Today, according to the Hongkong weekly Far Eastern Economic Review, the Golden Crescent accounts for about 85 per cent of the heroin sold in Western Europe and about half (!) the drugs entering the U.S.

In the summer of 1986 heroin in packages of almost half a kilogramme appeared on the black market in San Francisco. Stamped on the wrapper was the word "Afghanistan"; there was also a picture of an automatic rifle and an anti-Soviet slogan. A spokesman for the Drug Enforcement Administration remarked in this connection that it was impossible to draw a distinction between underground drug traders and the rebels in Afghanistan. They were one and the same.

Heroin operations in Pakistan have not, of course, become the monopoly of the counterrevolutionaries. A million and a half people are involved. A number of tribes in the North-West Frontier Province have long grown opium poppies. But one can get an idea of the distribution of roles between the Afghan and the Pakistani mafia from a recent article in the Japanese magazine Heibon Punch, describing the passage of a large cargo of heroin from the North-West Frontier Province of Pakistan. Camels loaded with packages of heroin, their drivers armed with automatic weapons, police patrols taking the usual bribes.... And finally the caravan reaches the shores of the Arabian Sea where a vessel flying the Liberian flag takes on board 150 tons of raw opium. Ninety tons from the Pakistanis, and the remaining 60 from the Afghan counterrevolutionaries.

The heroin trails usually end up in Karachi, the main sea port and air terminal. There are food stores and stores of weapons along the trail. True, the authorities have set up 72 checkpoints. But the well-armed caravans get through relatively easily. More often than not, they bribe their way through.

"It's a Lucrative Job"

In Karachi itself there is no need to shoot your way through. The kings of the drug trade are in no danger. In September 1984, one of them, the millionaire Anwar Khattak, was sentenced in absentia to three years' imprisonment. But he continued to live peacefully in a respectable district of Karachi, Defence-5. As a senior police officer remarked to a correspondent of the London Sunday Times, there was nothing he could do about it. The other law and order services knew perfectly well where he was, but were probably paid well to do nothing. "The bastard paid me nothing," the officer complained bitterly....

Another king, Mushtaq Malik, was arrested only after he had insulted an army officer at a society gathering. The military are all-powerful in Pakistan. They can have a person jailed, and they can also get out of prison themselves by unknown means. At the end of 1986 an army officer was arrested in Karachi when 450 pounds of heroin were found in his car. But he did not spend even one full day in prison. A month and a half earlier, an Air Force officer was caught with an even larger batch of drugs. Yet he too was released.

Extremely influential people are involved in the drug trade—people in and out of uniform. The governor of the North-West Frontier Province had to make a quick trip to New York last spring to rescue his son who had been caught peddling heroin on the streets of the city. In Federal Germany the brother of the former Mayor of Peshawar, F. Hussein, was caught conducting a similar illegal but highly profitable operation.

In the endless and very similar descriptions of corruption among Pakistani officials, Sohrab Goth, the place from which we began this story, often figures.

...A Sunday Times correspondent visited a police officer, known to have taken bribes, in a wealthy district of Karachi. He asked why the police were not clamping down on the Sohrab Goth drug market. He said that in the district he had been offered heroin in any quantity, even with a police officer standing a few yards away. At the checkpoint, the police tried to shut their eyes to the open peddling of drugs.

The police officer laughed and replied frankly that everyone was getting rich out of the drug trade. The police were paid not to notice what was happening in Sohrab Goth.

On another occasion the correspondent was told by a police officer that they had been instructed to consult with the local people (in other words, warn the local kings of the drug mafia) before making any raids on Sohrab Goth....

But what about the December raid? Had the instructions been changed?

The leader of the opposition, Benazir Bhutto, daughter of Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto who was executed in 1979, is convinced that "government officials have 'tipped off' the major drug smugglers" about the coming raid.

Mafia Blackmails the Government

The mafia, according to the magazine Mag, insists on more: it demands complete immunity. One can imagine how furious were the mighty and invincible kings, as well as those Afghan counterrevolutionaries involved in the drug traffic and used to operating with impunity, with plans for a serious raid on Sohrab Goth.

And so they countered Operation Clean-Up with their own operation. The main part in it was the bloodbath organized in Karachi. According to the Pakistani journalist Mohammad Jami, since 1984 the mafia had at least six times provoked intercommunal clashes in response to attempts to curb the drug trade. The events in Orangi on December 14 followed a well-rehearsed script. The only difference was that the force of the blow was so great that, so the mafia believed, Islamabad would remember it for a long time.

"There are persistent reports," the magazine Mag wrote, "pouring in that the drug mafia unloaded tons of money during the week after the December 12 action against Sohrab Goth to sabotage the Operation Clean-Up." While the hired thugs killed and robbed, representatives of the mafia contacted ministers of Sind Province and even the Prime Minister of Pakistan. They demanded immunity for the drug trade. Otherwise they would deal a new blow to the prestige of the authorities....

So is that the secret of Sohrab Goth?

A Harsh Price

The situation facing the Pakistani government is a far from easy one. There can be no doubt that it is disturbed by the doubtful reputation the country is acquiring for flooding the world with heroin, and also by the growth of the drug problem at home. About 10 million Pakistanis are estimated to be on drugs, and of that number about half a million are heroin users. Islamabad has taken certain steps: harsher sentences are being passed on smugglers, more money is being made available to replace opium poppies with other farm crops, and a number of the heroin laboratories in the North-West Frontier Province have been

closed down. But one can hardly fight the drug trade and at the same time protect the Afghan counterrevolutionaries who engage in it. During the anti-drug operations in 1986, the troops left the laboratories belonging to the counterrevolutionaries almost untouched. That is what is called a double standard in America.

Can President Zia ul-Haq afford to ignore the price, both financial and political, that has to be paid for the presence of Afghan refugees on Pakistani soil? That question was put by the Times of India. It went on to point out that the President has to run counter to the public mood, and the public fears that the presence in Pakistan of armed rebels, who are also involved in the criminal drug traffic, could lead to communal clashes. The main political parties in Pakistan would like to see the Afghan refugees return to their homes, and the sooner the better. It is believed that the government shares this desire, especially now, after the bloodshed in Karachi. But—and that is where the question of how independent its policy is arises.

Islamabad's dependence on Washington, both economic and military, has greatly increased in the 1980s. And Washington always makes a point of underlining its solidarity with the Afghan counterrevolutionaries. Moreover, U.S. military aid to Pakistan in effect depends largely on the Afghan counterrevolutionaries' well-being in Pakistan. Republican Senator Gordon Humphrey, one of the leaders of the Afghan rebel lobby in the U.S. Congress, clearly hinted in a recent interview that should Pakistan agree to a settlement with Democratic Afghanistan and all the refugees be sent home, American aid to Islamabad could be blocked completely.

The White House gives a great deal of publicity to its anti-drug campaigns. But Pakistan, which floods the United States with heroin, is rarely criticized. The Nicaraguan contras deal in cocaine, the Afghan counterrevolutionaries in heroin. Yet U.S. Attorney-General Edwin Meese sees nothing unusual in rebel organizations trading in drugs to finance their activities.

A short while ago figures were published in Kabul on the damage inflicted on Afghanistan by the undeclared war. Perhaps it would not be right to speak in the same breath of those horrendous figures and the misfortunes brought by that war to Pakistan—the country from whose territory the counterrevolutionaries are able to make their murderous plundering raids. The bloodshed in Karachi, and the growth of crime and drug addiction are the harsh price that Pakistan has to pay.

Photo from the International Herald Tribune (Paris)

Jamaica: A Mirror of Caribbean Problems

Commenting on American-Caribbean relations recently, CARICOM* Secretary-General Roderick Rainford pointed out that the Caribbean countries were going to discuss with the United States such important issues detrimental to their economic growth as Washington's protectionism, the reduction of the U.S. sugar import quota (sugar being the main farm product of the Caribbean), cuts in the list of non-taxable U.S. imports, no American aid for the development of the infrastructure, etc. Rainford criticized President Reagan's Caribbean initiative saying that the basic items produced by the Caribbean countries had been excluded from it.

The Caribbean countries are becoming increasingly critical of Washington. Fresh evidence of this was furnished by the routine annual conference on the Caribbeans' economic problems in Miami, the U.S., late last year. Besides representatives from those countries the conference was attended by government officials and businessmen from the U.S., Western Europe and Japan. As on previous occasions, Cubans and Nicaraguans were not invited.

The conference also centered on the Reagan administration's Caribbean Basin Initiative, set out by the U.S. President at the Organization of American States in February 1982.

The Caribbeans were promised a great deal then: direct state aid to the sum of $350 million, an influx of private investment from the U.S., the expanding of the range of non-taxable Caribbean exports to the U.S. market. The idea was to strengthen such U.S. allies as El Salvador, Honduras, Jamaica and the Dominican Republic and establish a pro-American climate in the region as a result.

Now, years after the adoption of the Caribbean Basin Initiative, it is recalled as nothing but a fine gesture, the Washington Post comments. The Miami conference stated that the economies of practically all the countries in the region were in a sorry plight.

Jamaica is the most striking case in point. Washington had intended the island as a showcase of the Caribbean Initiative, as an example of how prosperous a "free" country can become in contrast with "communist Cuba."

A Showcase

Shortly after entering office Edward Seaga's Labour government of Jamaica was granted loans by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), Western powers and commercial banks. The Washington Post explained this generosity towards Seaga by citing, in particular, his defiant anti-communism.

Although the White House publicized this "mini-Marshall plan" as the panacea for all economic troubles and a stimulus to the Caribbean countries' development, U.S. aid actually fell short of meeting even their minimum requirements. Today the promise of the Caribbean Basin Initiative has all but petered out.

As Prime Minister Errol Barrow of Barbados and CARICOM Secretary-General Rainford said recently, the programme of U.S. "aid" to the region has failed.

The barriers in the way of Caribbean exports to the U.S. market were in fact never removed owing to the protectionist line taken by the U.S. Congress. Moreover, the U.S. reduced the sugar import quota by as much as 30 per cent.

As for investments, some American corporations are going to cash in on cheap labour in the Caribbeans by opening twin plants there for assemblying components of U.S. and Puerto Rican manufacture to make up finished products.

The Caribbean Basin Initiative has above all political aims. It is intended to uphold U.S. military-political interests in Central America and the Caribbean.

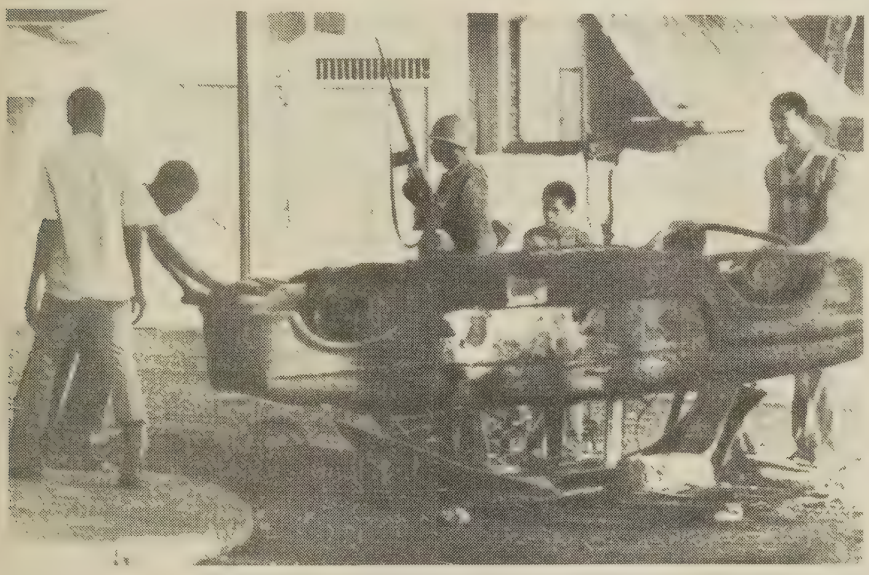
The United States has increased financial and technical aid to the armed forces of Jamaica and other island states, helped establish the so-called Regional Security System embracing the eastern Caribbean states, and conducts regular military exercises whose aims are unambiguous. The exercises held on Saint Lucia Island in September 1985, for instance, involved U.S. and British troops, the defence forces

* Caribbean Community and Common Market, the regional trade and economic organization of the Caribbean countries.

of Jamaica, Barbados, Antigua and Barbuda and the special service units of Dominica, Grenada, St. Christopher and Nevis and Saint Lucia proper. A centre for the training of Regional Security System units is being set up at the U.S. naval base on Antigua.

Members of the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) are divided on the "regional security" issue as Washington interprets it. Some docilely go along with the Americans, others seek to remain non-aligned. On the whole, support for U.S. policy by the leaders of the region's countries is dwindling. Errol Barrow, leader of the Barbados Democratic Labour Party elected Prime Minister last year, levels sharp criticism against the previous government for "blind submission" to Washington's policy, and says the Barbados government has serious misgivings about the use of the region's resources for military purposes. Even Prime Minister Eugenia Charles of Dominica, one of Reagan's closest allies in the Caribbean basin, said recently that she was "never completely convinced of the need for a regional army." Prime Minister John Compton of Saint Lucia spoke for an ever wider section of public opinion in the region when he said: "We want a demilitarized Caribbean. Our problems are not military, they are social and economic."

A street scene in Kingston, capital of Jamaica, during the popular unrest in 1985.
Reuter-TASS photo



Not Much to Show

What does succumbing to IMF diktat bring? The most eloquent answer to the question is furnished by Jamaica, the "showcase of the free world" in the Caribbean. Jamaica's economy has been in a deep slump for years. The output of bauxites and alumina—the chief sources of foreign currency—continues to dwindle. Transnational corporations are closing down their businesses there. Production of the main agricultural exports—sugar and bananas—is decreasing markedly. In the manufacturing industry, the influx of cheap imports ousts national companies from the market.

The authorities are trying to offset the growing balance of trade deficit by raising taxes and borrowing more money abroad. Official statistics put Jamaica's foreign debt at $3.5 billion (as against $1.7 billion in 1980 under the People's National Party). Paying off the debt devours an estimated 40 per cent of the country's total export earnings.

Unemployment stands at an appalling 30-odd per cent. The level of youth unemployment is still higher: 56 per cent! Another scourge of the working people is chronic inflation. Since Labour came to office, consumer goods prices have more than doubled.

Jamaica is just another victim of U.S. neocolonialist policy. The "development strategy" which consists in drawing foreign capital and leaves foreign companies free to operate uncontrolled in the country brings almost no real progress. Over the period 1970-82, U.S. companies increased their investments in the Caribbean countries 16-fold from $1.8 billion to $29 billion—an impressive growth. However, the lion's share of this money ($25 billion) is invested in the banking system rather than in the production sphere.

Is it any wonder therefore that ruling and business quarters are apprehensive of likely social and political upheavals? "Jamaica is like a boiling pot at the present time," Florizel Glasspole, governor-general of the island, admits. A wave of strikes and street demonstrations swept Jamaica in 1985-86. One of the mass protest actions against the rising cost of living resulted in the death of seven people. Economic troubles push up crime figures.

Prime Minister Edward Seaga of Jamaica made an unexpected statement in the middle of last October. With his party having all the seats in Parliament (as a result of the 1983 elections having been boycotted by the opposition), he announced his intention to resign his post as the leader of the Labour Party; in the summer of 1986 he all but stepped down from the premiership. Although Edward Seaga later changed his mind, many observers agree that his professed intention was chiefly due to the failure of his government's socio-economic policy, which is directly identified with him.

Edward Seaga's decision came soon after his "extraordinary" visit to Washington last September, when he discussed the critical economic situation in Jamaica. Washington expressed its concern over the growing influence of the opposition People's National Party (PNP) in Jamaica. Its victory at the next parliamentary elections would seriously undermine Washington's strategy with regard to the Caribbean countries and discredit the Reagan model for their political and economic development.

In the meantime, "most Jamaicans are against giving Seaga any more time to make his policies work and want the opportunity to elect an alternative government now," Carl Stone, the well-known Jamaican sociologist, concludes on the basis of what his regular public opinion polls reveal. This conclusion was confirmed by last July's local government elections in which the PNP scored a major success.

In March 1987 PNP leader Michael Manley warned that if the government did not call general elections before April, the PNP would launch a sweeping campaign of protest against its anti-popular policy.

VLADIMIR SVETLANOV

THE BREST PEACE

Excerpts from the new play by Mikhail Shatrov

From the Editors:

Seventy years. Is this a long or a short time? The answer to this common rhetorical question is that, on the one hand, it is a long time, but, on the other.... Seventy years is of course a long time. It is the better part of a century and, from the standpoint of its significance for all mankind, it is more than a century. Those 70 stormy, dramatic, at times tragic but on balance momentous and optimistic years of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

No magazine article can encompass more than a tiny fraction of the events that make up the history of that revolution. Therefore in the coming months we propose to dwell on some of the milestones in this history which testify to the intrinsic strength of socialism that enabled it to emerge victorious from the most critical situations.

The Brest peace treaty of 1918 has become a classic instance of political wisdom and realism in trying circumstances. Today it all looks simple and logical: the day after its birth the Soviet republic issues the Decree on Peace and, accordingly, enters into armistice negotiations (November 26, 1917), concludes an armistice (December 15), then begins peace negotiations in Brest-Litovsk (December 22), is confronted with unacceptable terms by a quadruple alliance headed by Germany (January 18, 1918), tries to gain time but in the end signs a "shameful peace" (March 3). A few months later a revolution in Germany sweeps away the Kaiser, the treaty is annulled, a respite has been won, revolutionary Russia is saved, and the shame is forgotten.

But it was not for nothing that Lenin often repeated the words of his great forerunner Nikolai Chernyshevsky about the historical process not being as smooth as the pavement of Nevsky Prospekt (in St. Petersburg). If only everything were as simple as some heedless chronicler would make it appear! But we know how incredibly agonizing was the genesis of the decision that saved the revolution.

Today, seven decades later, we can learn much from the treaty now sunk to oblivion. It teaches us not to succumb to emotion and still less to catchwords. To be realists. How great was the temptation to spit in the face of the Kaiser's generals, break off the negotiations and declare a great revolutionary war on the entire bourgeois world! Even Trotsky's "neither peace nor war" position struck many as a convenient way out. It was under that slogan that Trotsky, then head of the Soviet delegation in Brest-Litovsk, had torpedoed the negotiations and given the Germans a pretext for resuming hostilities. But history confirmed the correctness of the line of reasoning followed by Lenin and his comrades-in-arms: peace alone, a peaceful respite, could save the gains of the October Revolution. This was the main thing.

The decision to sign the peace treaty was evidence of the courage of a truly people's party that asked the people to accept an unpopular decision. The terms of the Brest peace treaty were indeed monstrously humiliating. They meant wresting from the Russian revolution Poland, Latvia, Lithuania, a large part of the Ukraine, Byelorussia and Estonia. But the people stood by Lenin because he had found the correct way out of an exceptionally difficult situation. The fact that the Fourth Extraordinary All-Russia Congress of Soviets ratified the treaty by an overwhelming majority bears this out.

Another lesson is that the revolutionary people fully appreciated the courage of the party that had stormed the citadel of capitalism and tsarism under the banner of peace. The people did not want to go on fighting and shedding their blood in the interests of the bourgeoisie. But they rose to the defence of the revolution. It was at the tragic moment of the resumption of the German invasion that the Red Army was born.

Lastly, Brest had a bearing not only on the first world war and its termination. It was also a matter of relations between socialism and its capitalist neighbours. Why, it might be asked? After all, Russia was confronted with only a quadruple alliance. Britain, France and the United States had been Russia's allies in the war, but as "invisible participants" in Brest they were not on our side. In the first place they did not support the passionate appeal of the October Revolution for an end to the war. And secondly, they organized a blockade of revolutionary Russia and were preparing an armed campaign against it.

An answer to what was virtually a bloc of capitalist powers was given during the Brest negotiations: the revolution would defend itself, but it was ready also for peaceful, mutually advantageous existence with them. Lenin demonstrated the fallacy of those who saw the future of Europe in an immediate assault by the revolutionary forces on capitalism. It is not a paradox or an exaggeration to say that it was precisely at the time of bitter struggle over the Brest peace treaty that there emerged the concept of peaceful coexistence which was proclaimed on behalf of the Soviet republic in Genoa in 1922 and which to this day has remained our concept of how to build peace. It was at that time that the deepgoing connection between the revolultionary changes in our country and a peaceful future for Europe first asserted itself. Peace is an intrinsic fundamental requirement of socialist society. Peace is not only a political slogan, it is a requisite of successful development, of constructive endeavour.

In a word, Brest is a subject for long and profound contemplation. We propose to examine it in a way not customary for a magazine and give the floor to a playwright. Mikhail Shatrov is well known as a master of the documentary play. His plays and film scenarios reconstruct with remarkable veracity a picture of past tempestuous years. He has just finished the play "The Brest Peace" (it is to be published in the April issue of the journal Novy Mir).

The action takes place against the background of a chorus consisting of soldiers, workers, peasants, journalists. Among them are Lenin and other members of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party.

The play is built on many planes. We have chosen the concluding scene. The time is after the negotiations in Brest have been scuttled by Trotsky and the Germans have declared the armistice over. On February 18, the Germans launched an offensive. In heated, acrid debate in the Central Committee, Lenin at first failed to win the support of the majority needed for the adoption of the only correct decision. He was opposed by the adherents of "revolutionary" phrasemongering who went so far as to suggest that the loss of Soviet power could be risked. Continuation of the war was urged also by a U.S. representative in Russia, Colonel Raymond Robins, who promised to provide Lenin with "concrete proof" that the U.S. and Britain were prepared to extend aid to Russia. On February 23 the German government presented a new ultimatum. A decision had to be taken.

GERMAN GENERAL: A new ultimatum was sent to the Bolsheviks this morning. I must say our foreign office and the high command have done a good job. The ultimatum contains all the demands that could possibly be advanced. Under these new terms, Russia will lose a population of 46 million, 26 per cent of the total; 75 per cent of its coal, 73 per cent of its pig iron, 37 per cent of its harvest, 26 per cent of its railways, and so on. The Bolshevik headquarters is bound to meet to discuss it. I very much doubt it will accept the ultimatum, because it is worded in such a way that the Bolsheviks will be insulted and reject it. And that is just what we want: we will then move on St. Petersburg and wipe out the Bolshevik contamination that is threatening the whole civilized world.

In the foreground is Lenin's office. Several members of the Central Committee are bending over the German ultimatum.

STALIN: What does it say?

BUKHARIN: The terms are a thousand times worse than before. They expect our answer at 7 a.m. tomorrow.

LENIN hurries into the office.

SVERDLOV: It's the ultimatum.

LENIN: What's happening in Germany? Any news?

SVERDLOV: No change.

(The members of the Central Committee enter the office one after another and seat themselves.)

Comrades, we now have to decide what is essentially the fate of our revolution. I consider it my duty to remind you of this. And so, do we accept these terms or not?

BUKHARIN: Give up half of Russia or not? Even to ask that question is ridiculous! We all of us here might as well go out onto the square in front of the Smolny and commit suicide before the eyes of the workers! That would at any rate be more honest.

SVERDLOV: What is the way out then?

BUKHARIN: We have to muster all our strength in a single fist and strike back full force. That would be the answer of revolutionaries to the arrogance of imperialism.

LENIN (bursts out in fury): Enough! Enough! I will not tolerate this for another moment! Enough of playacting! Not another moment! A revolutionary war requires an army—we have no army. The revolution needs peace, and peace we can have! The policy of revolutionary palaver is over and done with! Finished, Comrade Bukharin! If that policy continues even now I shall immediately withdraw from the government and from the Central Committee and go to the masses. But I will not tolerate revolutionary phrasemongering any longer! That's all! Be so kind as to accept my resignation!

A stunned silence ensues. It lasts for a long time.

TROTSKY: Comrades, we have heard Vladimir Ilyich's statement. What can one say? For me his arguments are totally unconvincing. If we were unanimous we could defend ourselves and cope with this situation perfectly well. We could go on arguing with Vladimir Ilyich. But that is not the point now. We need maximum unanimity. We do not have it, and therefore I cannot take the responsibility of voting for war.

STALIN: I don't think we need sign any peace treaty, simply start peace negotiations.

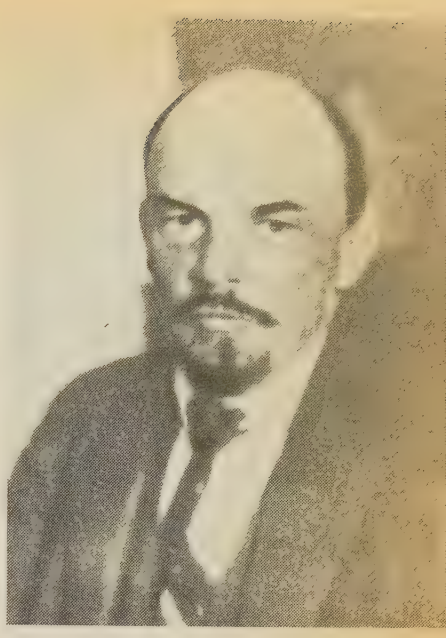
(LENIN shrugs his shoulders in indignation, but STALIN does not notice it.)

They are deliberately provoking us to reject their terms. Since we have no means of halting the German offensive by armed force, we must take other measures. It is either a respite or the end of the revolution. There is no other choice.

DZERZHINSKY: There won't be any respite, all that is Utopia. By signing a peace treaty on these terms we will only strengthen German imperialism and we will in no way be guaranteed against new ultimatums. Let us face the truth squarely. By signing such a peace we will save nothing. But I agree with Trotsky: if the party were strong enough to withstand a breakdown and Lenin's resignation we would be able to adopt a decision. Now we cannot.

LENIN: I sense and hear that some of you resent my ultimatum. I present it only as a last resort. And we have come to such a pass. Stalin is wrong when he says that we need not sign. Those terms must be signed. If you don't you will be signing the death warrant of Soviet power, which will not last more than three weeks. These terms do not affect Soviet power, can't you understand! If the supporters of Bukharin and Lomov in Moscow could have gone to such lengths as to entertain the terrible and monstrous thought of the possible loss of Soviet power, they are capable of anything! This is the mentality of a raving petty bourgeois and not of Communists. I have no hesitation whatsoever. I have presented my ultimatum not in order to withdraw it.

LOMOV: The way out proposed by Lenin will lead the revolution to disaster and hence I shall not take that road. There has been much talk here about panic in the army, but in reality there is no such panic. Fear has big eyes, as they say. We can do a great deal if we want to. But you should not let Lenin's threat to resign frighten you. We must take over power without Vladimir Ilyich! We must go to the front and do everything possible. Enough of faintheartedness, be equal to the tasks the world proletariat has entrusted to you!



Lenin in Moscow, 1918.
Photo by P. Otsup

SVERDLOV: Who else wants the floor?

(Silence. LENIN alone paces back and forth in his corner, three steps to the left, three steps to the right.)

Very well, let us put it to the vote. (Wishing to delay the climax): Anyone else wants to speak?

(ALL are silent.)

We will vote on only one question: shall we immediately accept the new German terms?

DZERZHINSKY (unable to stand the strain): Comrades! Before voting we must recess. We have to calm down! We are too excited! We are not listening to one another! The fate of our party, of our whole movement is in the balance! We are on the verge of a split! I demand a recess!

SVERDLOV: Who else wants a recess? No one? In that case let us vote on the new German terms. Who is in favour of accepting them? Lenin, Sverdlov, Stasova, Stalin, Zinovyev, Smilga, Sokolnikov. Who is opposed? Bukharin, Lomov, Uritsky, Bubnov. Who abstains? Trotsky, Dzerzhinsky, Joffe, Krestinsky. Thus, seven members of the Central Committee are in favour, four are against and four abstained.

BUKHARIN: What sort of a majority is that, when the four who abstained are also opposed? They were simply intimidated by resignations!

URITSKY: On my own behalf and on behalf of Central Committee members Bukharin, Lomov, Bubnov and of alternate CC member Yakovleva, and also Pyatakov and Smirnov, I want to make the following statement: not wishing to take the responsibility for

the adoption of a decision we consider deeply erroneous and disastrous for the Russian and world revolutions, all the more so since the decision was adopted by a minority of the Central Committee inasmuch as the four abstainees side with us, we declare that we are resigning from all responsible party and government posts, reserving the right to agitate freely both within the party and outside it for what we believe to be the only correct course.

STALIN: This is a split! This is factionalism!

ALL are silent. Everyone is at a loss what to say.

TROTSKY: I believe I ought to explain my motive for abstaining. I am sceptical about the possibility of achieving peace even at the cost of surrender. But I did not want to prevent the emergence of a majority in support of a common line.

LOMOV: Vladimir Ilyich, do you allow for the possibility of open agitation against the conclusion of peace?

LENIN: I do.

STALIN: I should like to raise this question: does the resignation of comrades from responsible posts not mean that they are actually leaving the party? After all, the Brest neither-peace-nor-war decisions were also adopted by a majority of one vote and we accepted them, did we not?

LENIN: Withdrawal from the Central Committee does not mean leaving the party.

URITSKY: Although Stalin suggests that we leave the party we have no intention of doing so. We are leaving our responsible posts, but not the party. The congress will decide who of us speak for the party.

STALIN: Comrades, I am not accusing anyone. I believe that you have the right to do as you think best. I merely wish to say how painful it is for me to see the comrades go. After all, there is no one to replace Lomov, Smirnov and Pyatakov. Do these comrades realize that their behaviour will lead to a split? If you want clarity and not a split I beg you to postpone your decision until tomorrow, or better still, until the party congress.

LOMOV: No! You are not postponing your reply to the Germans, you will carry it into effect at once! We will not defer our decision either.

SVERDLOV: The supporters of peace have as yet no cause to rejoice. The reply to the Germans must be given not by the Central Committee of the party but by the supreme body of state authority—the All-Russia Central Executive Committee which will have to endorse our decision, and that will not be an easy matter. Considering the existence of opposition parties and that the Left Socialist Revolutionaries are sure to vote against us, I must impress upon you that every vote will be worth its weight in gold. Unless there is unity in the ranks of the Bolshevik group, the viewpoint of the Central Committee will not get the majority in the CEC.

BUKHARIN: You want to deprive us of the freedom to vote as we please?

SVERDLOV: Yes, comrades, there will be no such freedom in this case. All the Bolsheviks must vote as one in line with the Central Committee's decision. All members of the CEC are asked to be present at the meeting, all other affairs must be laid aside. I repeat, every vote counts. Who does not intend to come? No one. Good. If we act in a united front some Left Socialist Revolutionaries might be won over. I declare this meeting of the Central Committee closed. I ask everyone to go to the Tavrichesky Palace where the CEC is to meet. There is very little time left until 7 a.m.

A group of Latvians leave their places in the CHORUS and enter LENIN's office.

LATVIAN (in heavily accented Russian, his voice trembling with emotion): The Brest peace spells the doom of Soviet power in Latvia. Yes, it does. By voting with you for that peace, we are actually signing the death warrant for the finest sons of the Latvian working class who are now languishing under the Germans... and who tomorrow will be sent to the gallows on the strength of our vote. This is very hard to take, comrades. It is a great tragedy for us Latvian members of the CEC. But we understand that the main thing now is to save Soviet Russia, which in the future, we are convinced, will come to our aid, will help to restore Soviet power in our country. That is why we have decided nevertheless to vote with you for peace... But we beg you to understand how we feel, how agonizingly painful this is for us.

LENIN (after a pause): We cannot ask for superhuman behaviour. This is all very painful for these comrades. I believe that we ought to thank the Latvian comrades for displaying genuine internationalism, and at the same time I propose that they be exempted from voting. We will have a few votes in reserve without them.

SVERDLOV: Any objections? None. (To the Latvians) I have only one request to you—when the voting begins, please leave the hall so that the Bolshevik group should remain solid and undivided, so that no one should see that some of us are not voting. That's all, comrades. Let us go to the Tavrichesky Palace.

ALL leave except LENIN and SVERDLOV.

Revolutionary soldiers marching to the front at Narva in February 1918.

LENIN: Well, what do you say, Yakov Mikhailovich, will our people falter in the CEC?

SVERDLOV: They might.

LENIN: Then I shall have recourse to the last expedient... I shall go up to the platform and I shall shout, demand, plead—with my eyes. They will all have to face me once more.

DZERZHINSKY returns.

DZERZHINSKY (greatly agitated): Comrades, you know me well enough.... The revolution is my whole life... it has been a hellish struggle... but the heart lives... and it always bleeds when there is injustice.... I still cannot reconcile myself to the thought of Brest.... But I understand now that if we do not do this, others will have to begin all over again.... (exits).

SVERDLOV: I quite forgot. (Takes a sheet of notepaper from his pocket.) Robins asked me to give you this.

LENIN: Is it the answer of the American government?

SVERDLOV: It's in English... I haven't got beyond German yet.

LENIN (takes the paper, reads and translates): "The support of honest people the world over...." (Smiles.) That is very important, Colonel Robins. And in time it will become a decisive factor. (To Sverdlov): It's time for us to be going. What's the matter, Yakov Mikhailovich? Are you ill?

SVERDLOV: Just tired. Dead tired. (Sits down.) It's a complete split, Vladimir Ilyich... Will we hold out...?

LENIN (after a long silence as he collects his thoughts): Yes, of course... This is the greatest crisis our revolution has faced.... But we now have something new to learn which will help us to heal this breach. Life, the day-to-day experience of the masses. If the breach between us went deep down to the masses, a split would be inevitable. But the unity of the masses is now being rapidly restored. Under the impact of the facts the masses will understand the correctness of the policy of obtaining a breathing spell and, by their pressure from below, will compel both halves of the party to come together, and the breach will be closed. Closed.

SVERDLOV: I'm ready. Let us go.

In the foreground, the CEC session hall. The CHORUS now consists of the members of the CEC. All the seats are occupied. There is a hubbub of voices as stormy debates continue. But the noise subsides when LENIN and SVERDLOV appear. SVERDLOV goes over to the platform. LENIN takes his place in the CHORUS.

SVERDLOV: Comrades, members of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee! Only one question is being submitted for your consideration: shall we accept the new peace terms? In view of the importance of this question for the fate of the Russian and world revolutions and in order to emphasize the responsibility of every member of the Central Executive Committee, it has been decided to vote by roll call. I ask each member whose name is called to mount the platform and loudly state his or her position. Let us begin.

A dead silence reigns. LENIN rises and goes over to the platform: now every member as he votes will be unable to avoid his eye.

SVERDLOV: Member Avdeyev!

AVDEYEV: I am opposed to peace.

The CHORUS bursts into a storm of applause, shouts and abuse.

SVERDLOV: I call for silence! Akulov?

AKULOV: For peace.

SVERDLOV: Karakhan?

KARAKHAN: For peace.

SVERDLOV: Kakhovskaya?

KAKHOVSKAYA: Against!

SVERDLOV: Steinberg?

STEINBERG: Against!

SVERDLOV: Martov?

MARTOV: Against!

SVERDLOV: Spiridonova?

SPIRIDONOVA: I am against peace.

SVERDLOV: Yenukidze?

YENUKIDZE: For peace.

SVERDLOV: Dan?

DAN: Against!

SVERDLOV: Lunacharsky?

LUNACHARSKY: For peace!

SVERDLOV: Kollontai?

KOLLONTAI: I agree to peace.

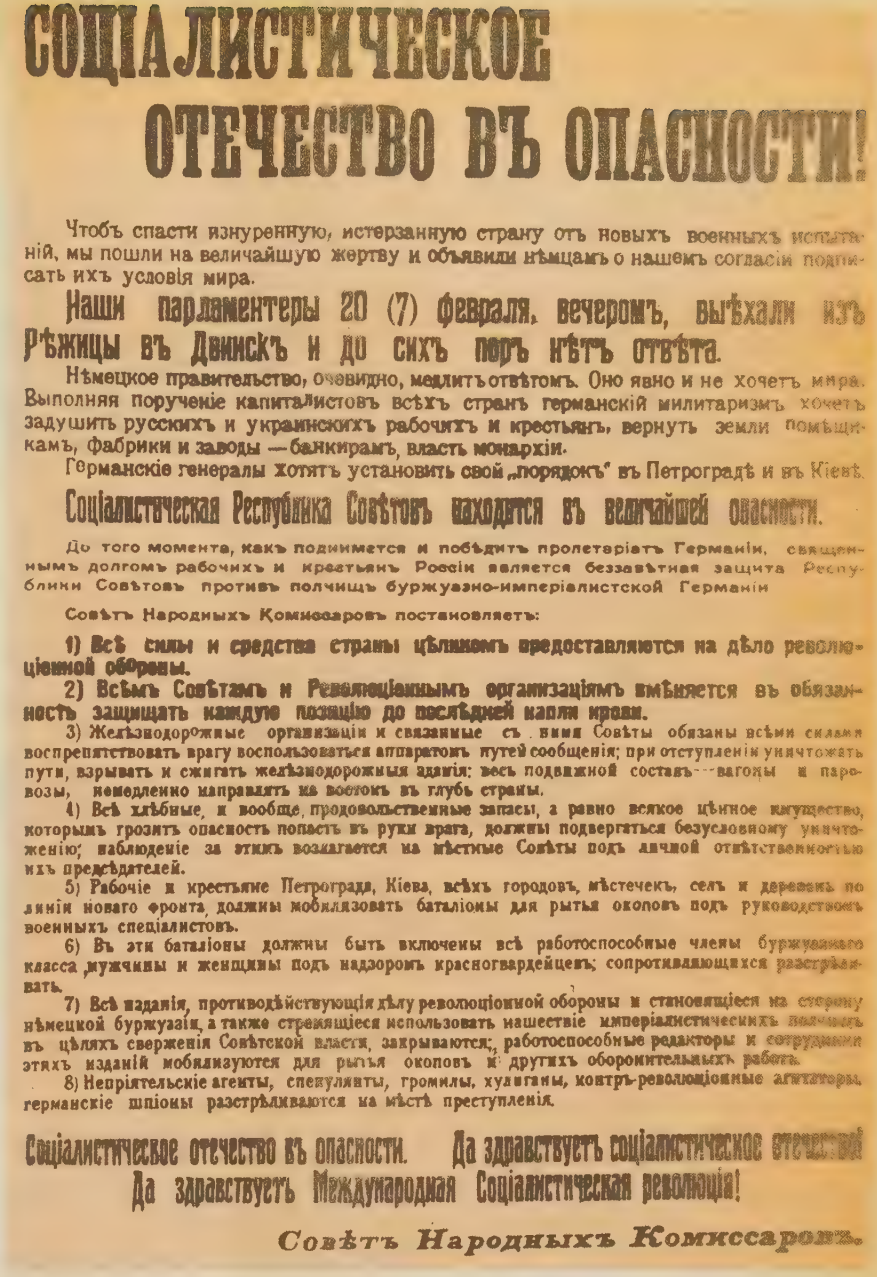
SVERDLOV: Dzerzhinsky?

DZERZHINSKY: Yes, peace.

SVERDLOV: Lomov?

LOMOV: For peace.

SVERDLOV: Uritsky?



СОЦІАЛИСТИЧЕСКОЕ ОТЕЧЕСТВО ВЪ ОПАСНОСТИ!

Чтобъ спасти изнуренную, истерзанную страну отъ новыхъ военныхъ испытаній, мы пошли на величайшую жертву и объявили нѣмцамъ о нашемъ согласіи подписать ихъ условія мира.

Наши парламентеры 20 (7) февраля, вечеромъ, выѣхали изъ Рѣжицы въ Двинскъ и до сихъ поръ нѣтъ отвѣта.

Нѣмецкое правительство, очевидно, медлитъ отвѣтомъ. Оно явно и не хочетъ мира. Выполняя порученіе капиталистовъ всѣхъ странъ германскій милитаризмъ хочетъ задушить русскихъ и украинскихъ рабочихъ и крестьянъ, вернуть земли помѣщикамъ, фабрики и заводы — банкирамъ, власть монархіи.

Германскіе генералы хотятъ установить свой „порядокъ" въ Петроградѣ и въ Кіевѣ.

Соціалистическая Республика Совѣтовъ находится въ величайшей опасности.

До того момента, какъ поднимется и побѣдитъ пролетаріатъ Германіи, священнымъ долгомъ рабочихъ и крестьянъ Россіи является беззавѣтная защита Республики Совѣтовъ противъ полчищъ буржуазно-имперіалистской Германіи.

Совѣтъ Народныхъ Комиссаровъ постановляетъ:

1) Всѣ силы и средства страны цѣликомъ предоставляются на дѣло революціонной обороны.

2) Всѣмъ Совѣтамъ и Революціоннымъ организаціямъ вмѣняется въ обязанность защищать каждую позицію до послѣдней капли крови.

3) Желѣзнодорожные организаціи и связанные съ ними Совѣты обязаны всѣми силами воспрепятствовать врагу воспользоваться аппаратомъ путей сообщенія; при отступленіи уничтожать пути, взрывать и сжигать желѣзнодорожныя зданія; весь подвижной составъ — вагоны и паровозы, немедленно направлять на востокъ въ глубь страны.

4) Всѣ хлѣбные, и вообще, продовольственные запасы, а равно всякое цѣнное имущество, которымъ грозитъ опасность попасть въ руки врага, должны подвергаться безусловному уничтоженію; наблюденіе за этимъ возлагается на мѣстные Совѣты подъ личной отвѣтственностью ихъ предсѣдателей.

5) Рабочіе и крестьяне Петрограда, Кіева, всѣхъ городовъ, мѣстечекъ, селъ и деревень по линіи новаго фронта, должны мобилизовать баталіоны для рытья окоповъ подъ руководствомъ военныхъ спеціалистовъ.

6) Въ эти баталіоны должны быть включены всѣ работоспособные члены буржуазнаго класса, мужчины и женщины подъ надзоромъ красногвардейцевъ; сопротивляющихся разстрѣливать.

7) Всѣ заданія, противодѣйствующія дѣлу революціонной обороны и становящіеся на сторону нѣмецкой буржуазіи, а также стремящіеся использовать нашествіе имперіалистическихъ полчищъ въ цѣляхъ свержения Совѣтской власти, закрываются; работоспособные редакторы и сотрудники этихъ изданій мобилизуются для рытья окоповъ и другихъ оборонительныхъ работъ.

8) Непріятельскіе агенты, спекулянты, громилы, хулиганы, контръ-революціонные агитаторы, германскіе шпіоны разстрѣливаются на мѣстѣ преступленія.

Соціалистическое отечество въ опасности. Да здравствуетъ соціалистическое отечество! Да здравствуетъ Международная Соціалистическая революція!

Совѣтъ Народныхъ Комиссаровъ.

"The Socialist Motherland Is in Danger!" Decree issued by the Council of People's Commissars on February 21, 1918 (photostat).

URITSKY: Peace

SVERDLOV: Bukharin?

BUKHARIN (going over to the platform and addressing Lenin): You would cease to respect me were you to learn that I, Nikolai Bukharin, your disciple, acting against my Party conscience, raised my hand in favour of a decision which, it is my deep conviction, kills the revolution. (LENIN looks at him in silence.) Vladimir Ilyich... (LENIN is silent.)

SVERDLOV: Bukharin?

BUKHARIN: What am I to do, Vladimir Ilyich? (LENIN remains silent.)

SVERDLOV: CEC member Bukharin?

BUKHARIN: I am against peace.

The CHORUS breaks into shouts of "Bravo! Shame! Quiet!"

SVERDLOV: Silence, please. Let us continue. Gorbov?

GORBOV: I refuse to vote!

SVERDLOV: Stalin?

STALIN: For peace.

SVERDLOV: Sokolnikov?

SOKOLNIKOV: For peace!

SVERDLOV: Joffe?

JOFFE: For peace!

SVERDLOV: Fabricius?

FABRICIUS: I abstain!

SVERDLOV: Trotsky?

Silence. No reply. ALL look around.

SVERDLOV: Trotsky?

VOICE: Not present.

SVERDLOV: Zinovyev?

ZINOVYEV: I stand for peace!

SVERDLOV: Ryazanov?

RYAZANOV: Unquestionably opposed!

SVERDLOV: Ulyanov-Lenin?

LENIN: Peace.

SVERDLOV: Sverdlov. For peace. Kamkov?

KAMKOV: Against.

The lights go out and come on again. Voting ends.

SVERDLOV: Comrades, the voting is over, permit me to announce the results. For peace—116 votes, against—85, abstentions—26. Thus, the proposal to conclude peace, submitted by the Bolsheviks, is adopted!

Sverdlov's final words are drowned out by shouts of "Traitors!" "Russia's sold out!" "Shame!" The Bolsheviks rise from their seats, gather around Lenin and advance to the proscenium.

LENIN (in a low, confiding tone, to himself, to us, to his comrades): We are forced to sign this... We must have the courage to face the unvarnished truth. The better we realize this the firmer and more unbending will be our resolve to ensure that Soviet Russia will fulfill its paramount international duty—to build a new society, to enable the peoples of the world to realize their cherished dream, to counter war, and the abominations and baseness of capitalism with peace and the purity and grandeur of socialism. What do we need for this? Peace or war? For us there is no alternative. We have to build, and hence for us the desire for peace is not a tactical manoeuvre in a moment of weakness, it is the sum and substance of the whole of our policy, our whole lives. An hour of peace is worth a thousand times more to socialism than a day of war, even a victorious war. Learn from the painful but useful lessons of the revolution, comrades. Learn in order to win.

Curtain

CULTURE AND POLITICS

TO SEE MORE TO BETTER UNDERSTAND ONE ANOTHER

The U.S. artist Leroy Neiman, who visited Moscow recently, tells of his work in an interview to New Times.

Q. An artist is a man of keen perception. What are your impressions of Moscow and the people you met here?

A. My painting of Red Square that I worked on in the Surikov Institute is a good example. I was deeply impressed when our driver, through my interpreter, suggested I add doves, the symbol of peace, flying over the Kremlin. I intend to take him up on his suggestion, though, in general, I experience a certain reserve and restraint in any critical reaction to what I am doing.

In Moscow, I could see in the eyes of all who viewed my work an understanding, a deep respect for the artistic process, not easily swayed by snap judgement. I felt a distinct awareness and appreciation on their part that art is for more than just the moment.

Q. You are called the most popular artist in America and the world's greatest sports artist. What goals have you set before yourself in art?

A. My goal is to reach as many eyes as possible. Both the eye of the artist and the eye of the viewer must be in concert if a work of art is to be successful. I try to create smells, sounds, ideas, ideals—all of which reach the senses and the mind through a painting thanks to the eye of the artist and audience.

I believe that people should be made to feel good through the painting experience. The thrust of my work is entertaining—uplifting and inspiring—not depressing. I favour warm pleasant scenes over those that depict desolate mind-chilling tract. I can be taken to task for neglecting scenes of injustice or suffering, although I fully realize that man's dignity may be at its most visible in these situations. I show the upside of life, its more enjoyable aspects.

The working man is always prominent in my social scenes. My intent is to make clear that the ordinary man is on a plane of equality with the so-called upper classes. Although I often paint scenes of luxury, I'm proud it's been said my work shows a passion for the common man.

Q. Did you ever belong to any school or group of artists?

A. No. I was never part of a group or movement. I was a maverick. I would say that if there's anything that would single me out or tide me over or increase my chances for immortality, it is that I am an artist of my time. I live during this time, and I do what I experience, and whatever has resulted is not based on anybody else's experiences, or any particular advice or guidance I had from any quarter—just my own thing.

Q. As an artist and a man concerned about the destiny of the world, how do you view the future of American-Soviet relations?

A. I feel that the arts in which I am fortunate enough to participate, could well be a key line of communication between the two great powers, showing truths from both sides which might otherwise remain unrealized.

We in America should experience the benefits of Russian painting to get better insight into the Russian way of life.... We need to see more to better understand one another. I would like to see more Soviet art exhibited here in the United States and would certainly welcome the opportunity to return to the Soviet Union with my work to show the Russian people more of what I have been doing.

■

A Travesty of African History

A historical film about Shaka Zulu (Chaka), the popular military commander and founder of the centralized Zulu state, has been made in South Africa. Some may wonder why the racists have produced a film about a man who hated foreign conquerors and was a champion of his people's freedom.

The $24 million, ten-part film "Shaka Zulu," made by the South African Broadcasting Corporation and featuring British actors Edward Fox, Trevor Howard, Christopher Lee and Fiona Fullerton, is the costliest film in South Africa's history. The script, by Joshua Sinclair of the U.S., offers a very liberal interpretation of the historical facts, and South African director William Faure slanted the details about Shaka's actions and times still further during shooting.

The release of the film has been carefully timed. It is no accident that it does not emphasize Shaka's noble aims, for an impartial story of the popular hero would have only added fuel to the flames of the struggle being waged in the African continent. The racist authorities, who imposed a state of emergency last summer in a bid to stem the massive tide of protest against apartheid, felt that a film that portrays Africans as "backward" would help them convince the world that the indigenous population understands only the language of terror. This, briefly, is the background to the appearance of "Shaka Zulu."

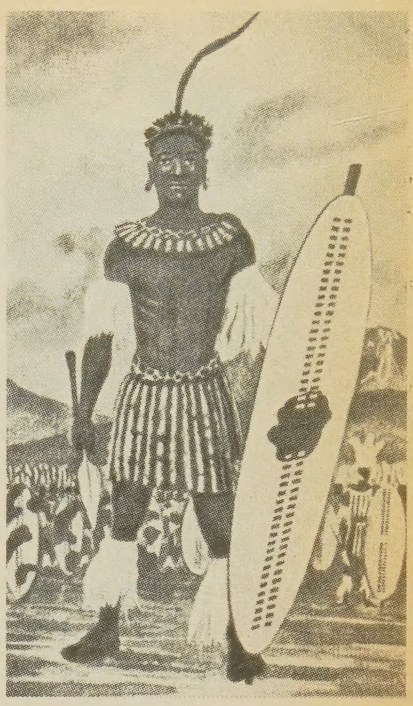
The film begins with sleazy sex scenes and ends with the bloody murder of the emperor. In between we are treated to scenes of battles, dancing, murder, blood feuds, political machinations, and the advent of the White Man.

The underlying message of the film is clear. It accords with the Western perception of the Dark Continent. The film adds touch after touch to the stereotyped and distorted picture of Africa as a continent steeped in prejudice, bloodthirsty, bellicose, unbridled, living in the age of savagery. The film suggests that giving freedom, franchise and power to more than 25 million indigenous Africans would throw South Africa back to the dark times of the unruly Shaka. Only the white man, the purveyor of civilization, can guarantee order. The film drives the message home when it shows Shaka's mutilated body.

The episodes showing Shaka, grief-stricken after his mother's death, forbidding people to raise crops and milk cows, and executing those who fail to show the proper signs of grief or have conceived a child during the period of mourning make depressing viewing. All these tendentiously selected episodes are designed to show that prejudice, superstition, treachery and cruelty were features of Shaka's rule and to strip him of the halo of hero and patriot. The assassination of the Zulu leader is treated as an inevitable outcome, a catharsis and a necessary historical lesson.

The film is due to be released in 60 countries, starting with the F.R.G. and the U.S. After the KCOP network showed the first part in Los Angeles, the Coalition Against Black Exploitation, which unites many progressive organizations in the U.S., proclaimed a boycott of the firm as it promulgates racist propaganda. The Coalition's chairman, Legrand Clegg, has said that the TV network was effectively promoting the Pretoria regime and contributing to the oppression of indigenous South Africans who are portrayed as barbarians and rapists in the film. Bobbie Hodges-Betts, spokesman for the American Friends Service Committee, called for a boycott of KCOP until it provided time to give a rebuff to the makers of the racist film. KCOP manager Rick Feldman, however, replied that the showing of the series will go ahead.

The film about Shaka offers no revelations. Surveying Western literature on Africa south of the Sahara, it is clear that with a handful of exceptions, it seeks to disparage national history and represent the freedom struggle of the African peoples as an attempt to perpetuate savagery, and their leaders as tyrants and despots. Little is known about outstanding African figures of the past. Western historians claim that there have been none. At the same time they romanticize "the white man's burden" in Africa. The white man is acclaimed as a pioneer. He "civilizes the indigenes" and humanizes them. Among such enlightened humanitarians are Cecil Rhodes, Henry Stanley, King Leopold II of Belgium, Gustav Nachtigal, Lord Kitchener, Marshal Lyautey and other conquerors. Meanwhile the indigenous Africans who dared defend their native land and gave their lives for freedom, are denied the right to be called patriots, liberators, thinkers and enlighteners. This is the kind of mentality that sticks the label of terrorist on such a prominent opponent of racial discrimination as Nelson Mandela, a mentality that is prevalent in Washington, London and other Western capitals and, of course, in Pretoria.



Shaka Zulu.

From the book "The Making of Modern Africa," London

The British Lion hated Shaka. The Cambridge History of the British Empire, the studies of British and other historians, novels and schoolbooks are riddled with hatred for this outstanding man. He is condemned as the enemy of all that is best on earth, evil incarnate, the tyrant of tyrants, a bitter enemy of enlightened Europe, the evil genius of the African people. Rider Haggard's novel "Nada" portrays Shaka as a fanatic bent on exterminating people.

Why is it, then, that the "bloodthirsty

They fought in the army of the warrior king.

From the liberal paper The Star (South Africa)

tyrant" is still honoured in Africa? Why, notwithstanding the torrents of lies and slander, do Africans still swear by the name of a man who died in 1828, over a century and a half ago?

The true story of Shaka is being written now by Africans. He was a major statesman and talented military commander who managed, during the last 12 years of his life, in the face of Boer and British expansion, to create a state covering the territory of the province of Natal, part of Transvaal, the Orange Free State and Cape Province, and modern Mozambique. "The truth is that Shaka was a most unusual product of his race," writes Ernest August Ritter in his objective and well-documented novel "Shaka." "He was highly emotional and sentimental behind a façade of iron self-discipline. ...He was the finest composer of songs, the leading dancer and the wittiest punster." He was hardworking and attentive to detail, which often decided the outcome of his battles. He was a true master of his land. He is popularly credited with the aphorism, "An ox becomes kinder under the master's eye."

A skilful statesman, he managed to unite Zulu tribes. He was a tough but not a cruel ruler. He is also credited with the words: "If I destroy it is only to build." In the opinion of some historians (shared by Albert Luthuli, Nobel Peace Prize winner and a leader of the African National Congress) Shaka's undoing was that, like many other rulers, he was intoxicated by his power, surrounded himself with sycophants and gradually became suspicious of all and sundry. It is only in his last year, after the death of his mother on October 10, 1827, that Shaka became prone to some unaccountable cruelty. But this does not give grounds for generalizations about the whole period of his rule. One novel quotes him as saying: "I have conquered the world but lost my Mother. Bitter aloes fill my mouth and all taste has gone out of my life." He came to believe that only fear could weld the Zulu together.

Shaka has gone down in history as a champion of a united Zulu state. His bravery is glorified in the poetry and prose of the South African peoples. The Zulus, as the programme of the South African Communist Party notes, used Shaka's military tactics against the Boer and British conquerors. During his trial ANC leader Nelson Mandela told his prosecutors that he was inspired by Shaka's great deeds.

Those who pass over in silence the deeds of Western powers during their colonial conquests in Africa, their atrocities then and later in Africa and elsewhere, the crimes of the United States in Korea, Vietnam or Grenada, should not undertake to judge Africans and their history. Those who connive at the murderous regimes in Chile and South Africa have no moral right to accuse Shaka.

The image of the valiant warrior king appeals to the peoples of black Africa. It is present in much African prose and poetry. In Leopold Sedar Senghor's poem "Shaka," the hero tells a foreign accuser before his death, "I hated only oppression." He says that he rose to defend Africa out of his love for the black people, because he could not remain deaf to the suffering and humiliation of his fellow countrymen. "I wanted to make all men brothers for love of my black people."

"From Shaka's time on, the Zulu have looked upon their nation with pride and, as a united people, strove to uphold the proud heritage left them by this truly dynamic leader." So the present Zulu leader, Goodwill Zwelithini, reacted to the libelous film.

Let us hope that truthful films about Shaka and other African heroes will be produced by the Africans themselves.

VLADIMIR KOROCHANTSEV

Harare—Moscow

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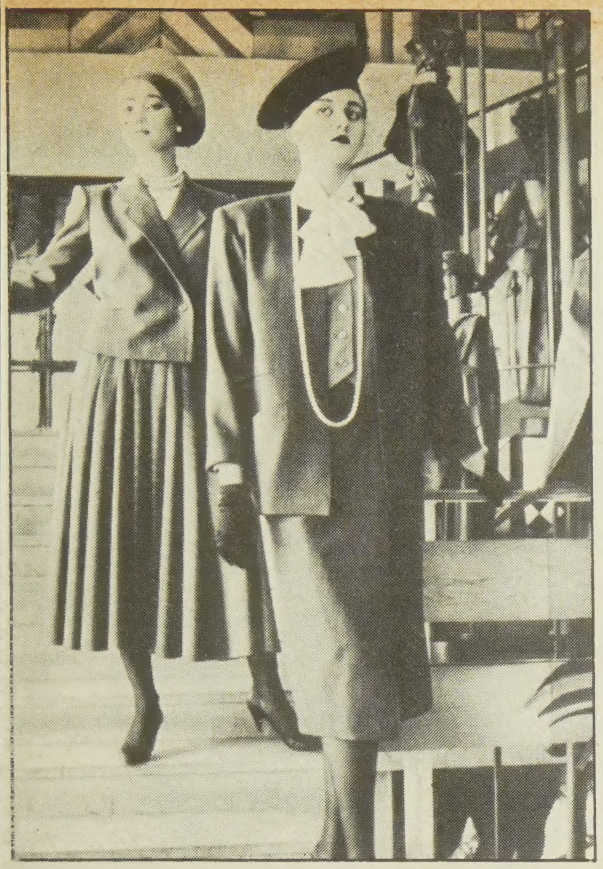


Fashion designer Vyacheslav Zaitsev recommends

I should like to begin this talk with New Times readers with a few words about what is known as the classic English style. From the second half of the 20th century this style has been the hallmark of good taste, the clothes worn by men and women who, while alive to the vagaries of the vogue, nevertheless stand slightly aloof from the general tendency to follow it slavishly. The classic English style, which has become well-nigh international, is something of a refuge for those who look above all for maximum comfort in clothes.

Of course, that style is not static, it is constantly developing.

Interest in the classic style is not waning this season either. Besides suits made of light woollen fabric of different cut (long, loose jackets with wide shoulders, narrow, straight or pleated skirts) snugly-fitting suits are again popular, as are waisted, hip-length jackets with exaggeratedly broad shoulders. Straight slashed skirts are again in. Also jackets with flared or pleated skirts hugging the hips and covering the knees.

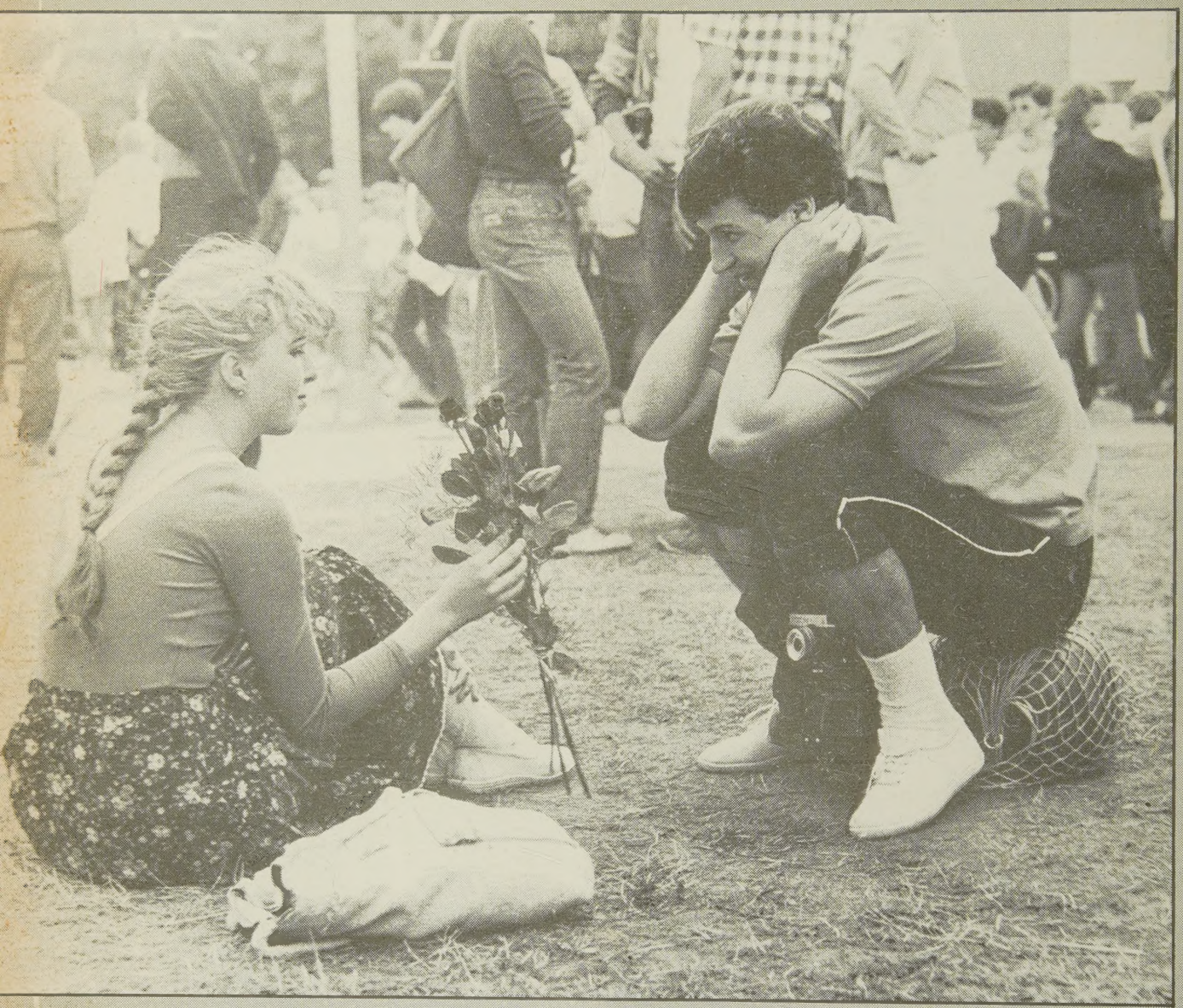
Still attractive are little

dresses of woollen fabric of plain or printed material.

Besides economical lines, most women still like loose, flared jackets worn over full dresses or smocks.

In conclusion, I would advise that great care be taken in choosing fabrics (colour and texture) and especially, accessories.

Understatement in colour and line is also important: good taste does not draw attention to itself.



Heart-to-heart talk.

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MAN AND MANKIND

Michal Moucka (Czechoslovakia)

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